The open university as a route to higher education expansion in developing countries: the case of Ramkhamhaeng University, Thailand.

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Abstract

The most recent development in the worldwide expansion of higher education is the move to open universities since they are less expensive for Governments than traditional universities and because they give the opportunity to expand and extend university education to a wider range of people.

The main focus of this thesis is one such open university, Ramkhamhaeng University in Thailand, which has adopted a system of operation part-way between traditional and open university techniques. Ramkhamhaeng is an open admissions university, taking in all secondary school graduates who wish to enrol together with other people who have appropriate qualifications. There is, as yet, no restriction on the number of students who enrol. The university offers traditional lectures for those who wish to attend on campus together with specially-written textbooks and media programmes for those who learn at a distance. This enables students to work and study hence reducing financial pressures.

My research indicates that, unlike attempts in the Western countries to extend access, Ramkhamhaeng has been relatively successful; students come from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds than traditional Thai university students. Although there is as yet a relatively low graduation rate, the graduates too come from a wider spectrum of the population. Furthermore, unlike British Open University techniques, Ramkhamhaeng's techniques are successful with new secondary school leavers also. Despite initial scepticism of Ramkhamhaeng 'standards,' the university's graduates have become accepted as equal to graduates of the other universities and despite the relatively large number of graduates, no serious graduate unemployment

problems have arisen; nor has the high enrolment caused political problems. The Thai Government has seen fit to open a second open university to cater more particularly for mature students learning at a distance since Ramkhamhaeng has not been particularly successful in this area.

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Introduction.

Throughout the last twenty years, higher education has been expanding at an enormous rate worldwide. The expansion has come about for a number of reasons springing from two sources: (a) the private demand for places in higher education and (b) the concern of governments to develop skilled manpower to aid national development. Chapter one of this thesis deals with the reasons for the expansion in greater detail.

The increase in demand for places has brought with it some rather radical changes in higher education systems in many countries; for example, opening access to people who would previously have been termed 'unqualified' and introducing radio and television as a partial replacement for live lectures. These changes have been inspired and sometimes necessitated by social and technological changes in modern societies.

The social changes can be viewed in general as a move towards more 'openness' in education in general. By this, I mean a breaking down of social barriers which have acted in the past to exclude certain groups from the benefits of education particularly at the tertiary level. This has meant that governments and educators have instigated changes which were intended to lead to a larger range of the population's having access to higher education. In the developed world, it is the universities which have been largely affected with moves to make higher education available to people lacking the usual qualifications demanded for university entrance. Often the groups aimed at are adults who are already working and who for social, economic or personal reasons were unable to gain a place in university on completion of secondary schooling, i.e. the provision of a 'second

chance' for this group.

The developing countries too have been concerned with expansion of access but often their efforts are directed to the younger age-groups in the population. The percentage of young people in developing countries who can find a university place at all is often rather small. The developing countries have thus been mainly concerned with expanding the number of places in universities for the younger generation.

But one of the major obstacles to increasing the number of university places is the cost of the public funding of education at this level. Traditional universities, with their relatively extensive facilities and their low staff-student ratios are particularly expensive. In recent years, then, governments and educators have begun to look for other methods of providing university education.

My thesis concentrates on one particular solution which has been adopted by some countries already, that of the use of open universities in some form. The term 'open university' is an umbrella term for a variety of types of institutions but there are two basic factors common to them all: the provision for people to enrol who do not possess the traditional university qualifications for the existing higher education system and the use of educational technology, usually radio and television, for teaching purposes. Most also involve distance teaching in some form.

The British Open University, though not the pioneer in the field, is the best-known example but other institutions of a similar nature have followed or are in the planning stages at present. Chapter 2 of this thesis deals with this new concept of higher education and highlights the advantages of and expectations for the use of open universities together with the problems that remain unresolved. The

aim of the thesis is to investigate the usefulness of the open university solution to developing countries given the problems they are faced with as regards higher education expansion.

Since open universities are such a new venture, there has been little research done on them in any substantial way. The British Open University is an exception since there has been research and evaluation from the outset. However, research which is confined to one institution is not sufficient to establish a body of accepted knowledge on open universities in general. Clearly, the Open University research relates to the institution and its method of operation as a whole and it is difficult to look at specific aspects of the Open University without looking at these in context. There is no other open university which uses exactly the same methods, although there are institutions which have adopted some of the Open University's practices. For example, the Allama Iqbal Open University in Pakistan has followed the Open University's work on course design but does not have the extensive tutorial back-up which the Open University has established. Furthermore, the Open University was planned and set up to function in British society. It is not clear how much of its operation is 'culture-specific.'

I have attempted to look at one more open university which differs in kind and function from the British Open University. This means that although some reference can be made to previous research on the Open University, any comparisons must be rather limited. Further comparison with other open universities would have been desirable also but apart from the university which forms the basis of this thesis, most institutions have been in existence for less than five years and thus have not really established themselves or their methods of operation.

My thesis, then, takes a rather detailed look at Ramkhamhaeng University, Thailand, an open admissions university established in 1971. By looking at various aspects of this institution, I hoped to draw some conclusions as to the success and potential for success of this kind of venture in higher education expansion for a developing country. Clearly, again, an investigation of one institution is not sufficient for generalisations to be made for the whole of the developing world, since there is great diversity both between Asia, Africa and South America as far as social and educational philosophies are concerned and also within any of these regions. However, by dealing with specific areas of consideration, I have attempted to illustrate the potential of a university of this kind and where the limitations lie. The final conclusions, however, though general in nature, can only be tentative.

I have chosen to look at the university in terms of expansion of access, in terms of the teaching-learning system and in terms of its graduates and dropouts. Clearly, this is not an exhaustive evaluation since other areas such as costs have not been examined in great detail, though cost considerations naturally inform the discussion at various points.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide a historical/political background to Thailand and a background to the Thai higher education system respectively. These chapters, which in themselves are mainly descriptive, make it possible to place Ramkhamhaeng in perspective. Chapter 5 introduces Ramkhamhaeng and the fieldwork carried out in Thailand. I spent approximately nine months in Thailand, most of which time was spent working with staff and students at Ramkhamhaeng. But since my research was concerned with the place of an open university in

the university system of a country - in this case, Thailand - it was important that I also spent some time at some of the traditional universities.

The fieldwork was carried out using a variety of techniques, involving questionnaires, interviews and other more informal discussions together with reading of relevant documents, articles, etc. produced both at the university itself and by the Office of University Affairs. The questionnaire work was carried out with students who were drawn from three of the Thai universities, including Ramkhamhaeng and covered personal and educational background and job expectations and for students of Ramkhamhaeng, open-ended questions on the university itself. The interviews were with members of the academic and administrative staff at Ramkhamhaeng and with officials of the Office of University Affairs. The informal discussions were held with staff and students I came to know during the time I was at the university and although most of them were spontaneous and not recorded, the ideas produced there were extremely useful in the more formal aspects of my research work. All the work was carried out by me in Thai, unless those concerned were equally fluent in English. It was thus possible to communicate with all the people concerned personally and I feel that this contributed much both to my understanding of the total situation and to their willingness to express real opinions. Chapter 5 and Appendices 1-3 give more details of the procedures followed.

The fieldwork was designed to throw light on the three areas mentioned earlier. The first of these, the access question, is a topic which has received extensive coverage in the literature. Most of the research is designed to explore inequalities in educational access as between different social classes, different ethnic groups,

etc. Some research has looked at attempts to remove these inequalities but in general, most efforts have fallen short of the expectations. My own research looked at the access question from the point of view of whether the students enrolling at Ramkhamhaeng were different from students at the other Thai universities on personal and educational background factors. The results showed that Ramkhamhaeng students were different from the students at the other Bangkok university examined but not substantially different from students at one of the traditional universities in the provinces.

The access question was taken further in that I felt that increased enrolment rate alone was a rather superficial indicator of expanded access. If most of those enrolled subsequently dropped out or failed to graduate, the access question had not really been successfully tackled. Clearly, differences in attainment must be expected between different individuals but if the differences are largely associated with socioeconomic factors (as opposed to intellectual factors) and hence contribute to failure to complete university, then the success of Ramkhamhaeng is rather less than first appears. Chapter 6 deals with access in the straightforward sense of intake and chapter 8 addresses this second concern by looking at graduates and dropouts of the university in terms of their personal and educational background factors.

The percentage of graduates and dropouts responding to the questionnaires was rather small but Appendix 2 explains why I feel that the samples are representative, particularly in the case of the graduates. Since the graduates and dropouts did not differ substantially from the presently enrolled students on the basic socioeconomic factors, the way was open for a discussion of access in my more extended meaning of the word.

Chapter 7 of the thesis looks at a subject which has been rather less fully researched than that of access, namely the use of educational technology in teaching systems. There are undoubtedly many practical examples of innovations in teaching techniques throughout the world using educational technology but there is a distinct lack of theory in this area. Where possible, I have referred to theoretical issues but it will be clear from reading this chapter that the experts in this field are well aware that the theory is almost non-existent. When this is the case, the practical experience of any one situation takes precedence and I have tried to analyse the Ramkhamhaeng teaching-learning system from the practical viewpoint.

This means that I have looked at the teaching-learning situation at Ramkhamhaeng in terms of how 'successful' it is in the Thai situation. Undoubtedly, 'success' is a rather subjective term but I felt that success must be indicated at least partly by the feelings of satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) of both the students and the teachers. Clearly, some objective measures of success would be desirable too. To this end, I have tried to assess the opinions of the dropouts and graduates of the university since they exemplify 'failure' and 'success' for the university and I have also investigated the position of the graduates in the job market relative to graduates of the other Thai universities (see chapter 8). These, too, however, are rather crude measures of how well the university operates but the investigation does highlight problem areas for Ramkhamhaeng itself.

Conclusions drawn from this chapter then tend to be rather specific to the Thai situation and in the absence of a body of theoretical work in the area of educational technology, generalisations relevant to other developing countries can only be tentative. However,

at this stage in the development of open universities in developing countries, these in themselves may be useful. But only after more experiments have been tried in different cultural settings will it be possible to begin to develop a theory of the use of educational technology at university level.

At the end of each of these three chapters (chapters 6-8), specific conclusions are drawn on the topics discussed therein as regards Ramkhamhaeng and, where relevant, more general remarks are made. The final chapter draws together the findings in an attempt to assess Ramkhamhaeng as a whole since the success and failure of this kind of institution depends on its overall impact and effectiveness. I attempt to make an overall judgment of the university and how well it has managed to overcome the problems raised in chapter 2 with respect to university expansion in general in developing countries and expansion in the form of open universities in particular. However, as I have said several times previously, there is no justification for generalising from this one institution to the whole (or part) of the developing world. Rather one would hope that the experience of Ramkhamhaeng may raise some hypotheses which could be tested elsewhere and which would be a useful guide to other practitioners and researchers in the field of 'open universities.'

Chapter 1. The expansion of higher education

During the last twenty years, higher education in both the developing and the developed world has grown at an enormous rate. UNESCO figures show that, for the developed world, higher education grew by 171% between 1960 and 1975. By 1975, 30% of the 18-23 year olds were enrolled in school and if these trends continue, by 1985, the developed countries will have 36% of their 18-23 year olds enrolled in school.[1]

Although the rate of increase is dropping (4.3% per annum between 1970 and 1975[2]), some Western countries are finding their higher education facilities inadequate in meeting the demand; for example, West Germany was expecting that in 1978, there would be 48,000 more applicants than places in higher education.[3]

The developing countries have experienced an even bigger increase in their higher education enrolment and there is no sign yet of this letting up. Again, UNESCO figures show that enrolment in higher education was about four and a half times higher in 1975 than in 1960 and that by 1975, 8.7% of the 18-23 year olds were enrolled in school. By 1985, this could rise to 12% and become 14.9% by the year 2000.[4] And in their case, the baseline population on which the percentage increases are calculated is itself growing very fast.

When we look at specific situations, the size of the increase is more easily envisaged. In Brazil, for example, the number of universities increased by 100% between 1960 and 1968, the number of students increasing by 58% between 1960 and 1965 and again by 79% in the next three years.[5] Even India, with an already large and sprawling university system, found that in the 1960's enrolment

increased by 128%, adding nearly one million students to the figures,[6] although the demand in the 1970's seemed to be dropping off.[7]

The reasons for this spring from two sources:

(a) There is a strong pressure of private demand for places.

(b) The governments, who supply the higher education, see social benefits, in the form of trained manpower and economic development, to be derived from higher education and so are:

(i) predisposed to react favourably to the private demand and (ii) generate their own additional demands on the system.

To expand these points, the governments have been faced with increasing populations requiring and often demanding education at all levels and have tried to justify educational development in terms of national development and economic growth. This has led to an increase in educational provision at the levels of primary and secondary education, in turn putting pressure on the higher education sector. But the governments have also been concerned with equalising access to education at all levels and this, too, has led to expansion in the education systems.

Individuals have seen the economic and status benefits of more education and that higher education is often the only way to a white-collar job. The desire to obtain this kind of occupation has given rise to an increase in the qualifications required and people have become caught up in what Dore calls the 'diploma disease.' These developments will be looked at more fully in succeeding sections.

Reasons for the expansion of higher education

1. Population growth. Not the least of the reasons for the larger number of students pursuing education at the tertiary level is

population growth, whether it be the short-term 'baby boom' of the West, which occurred after the Second World War, or the more general 'population explosion' in the developing countries. In these latter countries, death rates have dropped due to better medical and public health care but have not yet been accompanied by a fall in the birth rate of corresponding size. The drop in the death rates has been brought about by better medical care for women during pregnancy and childbirth and by the part or whole eradication of previous child-killer diseases. Better health care practices among the general population have contributed also. However, birth rates have not declined to any great extent, both because governments see a large population as an asset and because there is often cultural resistance, for traditional or religious reasons, to lowering the birth rate.

There has thus arisen a large disparity between death and birth rates, quite unlike that experienced by the Western countries during their modernisation period. The decline of the death rate in the developed world occurred over three centuries from about 1650, with a more rapid decrease towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The developed world has accomplished the same kind of decline in death rates over a short period. For example, the death rate amongst the Moslem population of Algeria in 1946-7 was higher than that in Sweden in 1771-80. By 1955, i.e. within eight years, the decrease in the death rate of the Algerian population was greater than that experienced by Sweden during the years 1775-1975. Between 1940 and 1960, Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ceylon, Malaya and Singapore were among the nations which decreased their death rates by more than 50%, Ceylon, in fact, accomplishing this within a decade.[8]

The result is that in the developing world, many countries have a population growth of around 3%, which means that the population doubles every 25 years and that around 50% of the population is 15 years old or under. The implications of this quantitative growth are staggering and mean that many countries are fighting hard just to keep education enrolment ratios constant, far less to extend the availability of education, even at the primary level, to all the relevant age group. Large primary education expansion programmes have taken place in these countries, which have led, almost without exception, to expansion at the secondary level and, later, the tertiary sector. Section 4 of this chapter will discuss the expansion at the lower levels of education more fully.

The situation in the West seems less serious as far as population demands go. Post-war demographic trends generally caused an increase in the number of births until the mid-sixties (with some interruptions in some countries), after which there has been a decline in numbers.[9] This means that school-age populations will become smaller and, if participation rates remain the same, the university populations will decline. Certainly, the UK expects its university population numbers to peak in 1983 and decline thereafter.[10]

2. Education as a tool for national development.

> "Human resources are the ultimate basis of the wealth of nations. From this perspective, the goals of development are the maximum possible utilisation of human beings in productive activity and the fullest possible development of the skills, knowledge and capacities of the labour force. If these goals are pursued, then others such as economic growth, higher levels of living and more equitable distribution of income are thought to be the likely consequences." (11)

> "Imbalances in inter-state and intra-state development have to be corrected. Not only is education the greatest force that can be used to bring about redress, it is also the greatest investment that the nation can make for the quick development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources." (12)

The population increase has been an alarming problem for government as far as educational provision is concerned but the two quotations above express the kind of hopes that people had (and still have) about the importance of education as a tool for national development. When other kinds of resources were lacking in the Third World, countries saw manpower, and particularly educated manpower, as a potential catalyst for economic development.

However, although the correlation between education and economic growth is generally recognised, there are two schools of thought with regard to whether education is a causal factor in economic development or not. One school says that economic development follows educational development in the growth process of a developing economy. The other school holds that educational development is not a causal factor in economic growth but generally follows on once a country has started to 'take-off' in an economic sense.

When one looks at the European countries, it is clear that they 'developed' with quite low educational participation rates above the primary level but they were the pioneers of industrial and agricultural modernisation and this process had, for them, been a relatively long and slow one. However, in countries such as the US, the USSR and Japan - all late developers compared to Western Europe - the rapid economic advance seemed to be associated with early high participation rates in education.[13] Thus there appeared to be a vital relationship between education and economic growth. It seemed to make sense then to train reservoirs of personnel to

take part in the growth of a society when it reached its economic take-off point.

To justify this conclusion, many economists cite the cases of Japan, Israel, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan which all adopted human-capital intensive programmes, with broad-based, large-scale investment to improve general education in the population and later 'took off' economically. However, when one examines the situation more carefully, it is clear that it was only after the economic growth began that the educated manpower could be phased into productive employment, so that the investment in education could not be said to have caused the economic growth.[14] Furthermore, recent observations show that in fact high rates of educational output followed, rather than preceded, initial spurts in economic growth, certainly in the US, Japan and Korea.[15]

Other countries have had a similar investment in education for many years without the subsequent economic expansion. For example, countries such as India and Philippines have long had relatively high enrolment ratios especially at the tertiary level and a large investment in education,[16] yet the per capita income of these countries is still relatively low, in Philippines $450 and in India $150.[17] However, perhaps in their cases, the presence of a large private educational sector, particularly at university level, complicates the issue, creating a mismatch between the hopes and aspirations of the private institutions and the needs of the economy. Furthermore, there has been substantial industrial and agricultural growth in India for some time but this is not reflected in the per capita income, partly due to the high growth rate of the population. Whatever the explanation, the example of these two countries illustrates the point that education can never guarantee rapid economic development.

The schools of thought are examplified by people such as Foster and Thurow. Foster claims that education, particularly technical and vocational education, is the cart to the horse in economic growth. Thus its development depends upon real and perceived opportunities in the economy.[18] But Thurow says that the economy attempts to adapt its requirements to the available competence in terms of general education and not vice versa.[19]

Thurow, however, specifies more clearly what economic benefits are possible from education, though he stresses that they are only possible and may or may not occur. He says that they are of three types:

(a) Education directly increases the productivity of a country's labour force and indirectly increases the productivity of its physical capital. The result is more output and a higher real living standard.

(b) By altering the distribution of individual productivities, education can lead to changes in the distribution of earned income between rich and poor. It can help the poor to catch up with the rich.

(c) Education can lead to economic mobility.[20]

The understanding that there is some kind of link between education and economic development has led to the influence of the economists on educational thinking, and sometimes planning, from two approaches: manpower forecasting and rates of return analysis.

The manpower forecasting approach to education attempts to predict the kind and number of personnel which will be required for any economy, given its past economic growth and its future economic plans. The figure produced is intended to give some indication of the extent and the kind of educational development needed to make

possible the achievement of economic targets.

Rates of return analysis takes a broader look at the benefits of education, both social and private. Private rates of return will be mentioned in the section on the 'diploma disease' but here I wish to concentrate on the social rates of return which have been more directly related to national development, i.e. the economists' attempt to show whether it is economically beneficial for countries to invest in education, as opposed to other sectors of the economy and in which sectors of education investment is most productive.

This attempt to plan educational development in terms of economic development has been largely unsuccessful for three reasons:

(a) the difficulty of predicting future economic trends reliably

(b) the qualification escalation

(c) the tendency for education to develop independently of economic growth.

(a) Both approaches rely on past and present patterns of employment and job opportunities for their assessment. It is rather more difficult to predict future patterns, when demand and supply conditions will be different and where changes in the national economy and international economic markets are at the mercy of factors such as sudden rises in the price of commodities and a more general inflation which are not always foreseeable. There is also the further unpredictability of technological change. For example, in Western countries, the microprocessor revolution has been accepted as an inevitability. But there is considerable disagreement amongst experts about its possible implications in terms of qualified manpower opportunities and needs.[21]

For manpower planning to be successful, governments have to exert a fairly strict control over enrolments in certain fields,

expanding provision in areas where increased demand is predicted and limiting provision where the market will not be able to absorb specialists.

This implies at least broad channelling of students into areas of study at all levels. When we think of manpower forecasting in terms of the requirements at the higher education level, this channelling must take place below the university level so that training or preparation is provided which will enable students to proceed to 'higher' levels. Most secondary schools already have such broad channelling points, for example, there is usually an academic/vocational choice point even in comprehensive schools and further subdivisions into science/arts etc. Since these choice points occur several years before university, if student numbers are restricted according to predicted future manpower demands, any changes in these demands caused by unforeseen fluctuations in the economy cannot be quickly accommodated. This is, of course, the leads and lags problem. Much of the success of manpower forecasting policies may thus depend on postponing specialisation for as long as possible so that changes in the economy can be more quickly reflected in the educational system.

In the same way, rates of return analysis seems to have most power in describing past and present conditions and the results of differential investments in parts of the educational system in the past. Furthermore, this kind of analysis is, at present, related only to modern sector economies or parts of an economy. Since most developing countries have large non-monetarist traditional sectors, where rates of return analysis is not yet feasible, the practical value of this technique for educational planning is severely limited.[22] It is, of course, <u>most</u> useful at the level of higher

education which is usually based in the modern sector of the economy.

(b) Neither of these approaches, in predicting future possibilities, normally takes into account the escalation of qualifications required for certain jobs, as an increasing number of people complete longer periods of formal education. This escalation occurs not only in developing countries, such as those of South Asia and to a lesser extent West Africa, where the possession of a secondary school certificate has become essential for jobs where previously lower qualifications were required,[23] or countries such as India and Philippines, where a degree is essential for most middle and high level jobs but also in the developed world. Dore traces the history of engineering qualifications in England and Wales, where there has been a transition from an apprentice system to possession of a degree, as the accepted qualification route.[24]

The manpower forecasting approach has been accused of positively contributing to the qualification escalation by failing to take into account the experience of the current work force and specifiying requirements only in certificate form. This problem arises from the assumption implicit in the manpower forecasting approach that the elasticity of demand for any type of educated labour is zero. The rates of return approach implicitly assumes the opposite viewpoint, i.e. that the elasticity of demand for labour of a given kind is infinite. Neither assumption is, of course, correct. And as Psacharopoulos points out, there are differences in elasticity of demand between developed and developing countries. Although in the developed world elasticity of substitution is often high, in developing countries there is a much lower elasticity between secondary and higher education graduates so that substitution may be more limited and the manpower forecasting approach more jus-

tified.[25] Undoubtedly, the issues of formal qualification and the qualification escalation are major stumbling blocks for these two approaches.

(c) Theoretically governments, especially totalitarian governments, should have been able to prevent this qualification escalation, perhaps by imposing more severe restrictions on enrolment at all levels. However, for two reasons, this has not happened. Firstly, Governments have had to give in to popular demand and political pressure groups. Middle and upper income parents are the most outspoken when reduced funding for secondary and higher education is threatened and political pressure from these groups has often forced more rapid expansion of secondary and higher education than originally planned. These parents are often the main source of political support for a government. Teachers, too, are a politically potent element when changes in the education system are proposed.[26] Tanzania, for example, struggled long and hard to prevent the growth of private secondary education. Philippines, even under a martial law government, has not stemmed the increase in higher education and Thailand, ruled almost always by a military government since 1932, has given in to the pressure to expand higher education on a large scale.

Manpower planning is still used by certain countries to guide enrolment patterns, for example, the Tanzanian example mentioned above; Sweden, where the U-68 reforms have attempted to tie the secondary and tertiary parts of the system to the country's manpower needs;[27] and East Germany.[28] However, there is an increasing awareness, especially in the developing world, that education should be seen not purely in economic terms. This is the second reason for the failure of governments to interfere in the escalation of quali-

fications issue. As Blaug points out:

> "No country has ever seriously subordinated the growth of its educational system to economic needs." (29)

There are other reasons for expanding education, reasons which are social, cultural and political in nature. Education is not merely a tool for economic advancement; nor is economic advance the main aim of national development. As President Marcos of the Philippines said:

> "Development will almost always require an increased national product, or a better balance of trade. But these alone are not the true measures of development. The ultimate yardstick of development in the 70's and 80's will be the extent to which it touches and improves the day-to-day lives and welfare of human beings." (30)

Education is seen as having a part to play in this more general meaning of development and many countries are now concerned with the provision of more education for a longer time for a larger proportion of the population. This means not only providing more places at all levels of education but trying to make education more accessible to different groups in the population. Before going on to discuss this concern with equality, particularly at the tertiary level, I will first discuss what part the primary and secondary school expansion has had to play in the expansion at the level of university education.

3. The primary and secondary school expansion. The extension of education at the primary level has been a major educational policy in many countries, for example, the Karachi Plan of 1960, which envisaged full enrolment at the primary level for the Asian countries by 1980 and the current U.P.E. programmes of Nigeria and Tanzania. And even where there have not been U.P.E. programmes instigated by

the government, other factors have acted to expand enrolment at the primary school level, for example, the setting-up of private schools to accommodate those who could not be served by the public system.[31] Table 1.1 indicates the extent of the enrolment increase in primary schools since 1960 for certain African countries.

Table 1.1. Primary enrolment ratios, 1960, 1970, 1975.

Country	1960	1970	1975
Botswana	36	56	85
Cameroon	65	107	111
Ghana	59	61	60
Ivory Coast	46	76	86
Kenya	47	64	109
Nigeria	36	34	49
Tanzania	24	35	57
Zambia	48	70	88

Note: These figures are enrolment at the primary level as a percentage of the primary school-age population. This normally includes children aged between 6 and 11 years but data are adjusted for different lengths of primary education.

Source: World Bank, World atlas of the child, 1979, p.36-7.

Other parts of the world, which had already high participation rates at primary levels, have concentrated more on expanding their secondary school education facilities, either by policy or because of the pressure from the number of people who were finishing primary school. Table 1.2 indicates the trends for certain Asian, Latin American and European countries since 1960.

As can be seen, this secondary school expansion has not been just a developing country phenomenon but is found in Europe and the US also. Although not all those enrolled will complete, a much larger

Table 1.2. Secondary school enrolment ratios, 1960, 1970, 1975.

	Country	1960	1970	1975
Asia:	Burma	10	25	26
	India	23	30	29
	Iran	12	26	37
	Japan	78	91	94
	Korea, Republic of	27	43	59
	Malaysia	19	34	41
	Philippines	25	50	56
	Sri Lanka	27	51	54
	Thailand	8	17	25
S. America:	Argentina	31	37	55
	Brazil	11	27	26
	Chile	25	39	48
	Colombia	12	23	36
	Peru	18	37	46
	Venezuela	21	37	43
Europe:	Austria	67	88	90
	Denmark	56	73	84
	Finland	75	77	107
	France	48	77	88
	Germany, West	53	66	70
	Germany, East	39	93	90
	Italy	34	60	68
	Netherlands	76	91	100
	Spain	23	56	78
	Sweden	68	84	70
	USSR	58	66	67
	UK	67	75	n.a.
	US	64	99	91

Note: Figures are enrolments of all ages at the secondary level as a percentage of the respective secondary school-age populations. Secondary education requires at least four years of official primary instruction and covers general, vocational and teacher training instruction. Age-groups are usually 12 to 17 years of age.

Source: World Bank, World atlas of the child, 1979, p.36-9.

number than previously do. Many of those who finish expect, or are under pressure, to go on to higher education, at least partly because they have had largely an academic training and possess skills not demanded by the employment market.

The reasons why secondary schools often have an academic rather than a vocational bias are complex. Part of the explanation is that the university system above them, in demanding academic qualifications, sets the bias of the levels beneath. But part is also due to the fact that formal qualification and an academic education is the main route to a white-collar job and hence is desired by a large number of parents for their children. Myrdal describes more fully the academic bias of the secondary schools in most Asian countries, particularly India and Philippines, where the private sectors are very large. The parents are interested in giving their children an education which will allow them to escape the toil and hardship of manual labour.[32] Foster shows that in Ghana, in the 1940's and 1950's, the demand was for purely academic courses modelled on English lines. Education was a way to enter more highly paid jobs in the modern economic sector, not to enable people to return to the villages with vocational skills.[33]

Even in Western countries, anyone who has completed secondary school, i.e. gone beyond the compulsory period, will have had largely an academic training, which does not easily lead directly to employment. Further study becomes almost a necessity and it is certainly true that in the West, most people who remain in secondary school until they are 18 or more, go on to university or college education.[34] For example, in West Germany, the proportion of Gymnasium graduates intending to enter university is between 85% and 90%.

This kind of pressure from the secondary schools seriously

strains the university facilities available. Sri Lanka, for example, found that in 1975, it could place only 4,000 of its 18,000 secondary school leavers who qualified for university entrance and decided to expand into correspondence education at the tertiary level.[36] China reportedly has 150 qualified middle school graduates for each available university place in any one year.[37] West Germany, which has had a long tradition of open access to all who possessed the Abitur, found it had to impose a numerus clausus in certain subjects. This is not strictly constitutional, since the State guarantees access to higher education to all applicants by law. Thus, they have introduced a queuing system, whereby admissions are postponed until places become available.[38] Other countries have given in to the demand and opened wide their university doors.

4. The concern with equality.

> "Extensive empirical research tells us that at most half of the individual differences in educational attainments are attributable to purely intellectual factors. The rest may be attributed to motivation, interest, perseverance, health, and, of course, home background." (39)

Governments in the last five to ten years have become increasingly aware of inequalities in access to education of the kind mentioned in the above quotation. That inequalities exist can be demonstrated for a variety of countries. In Colombia, for example, towards the end of the 1960's, the proportion of persons in the rural areas, who had had secondary education, was smaller than the proportion of persons in the towns who had completed university.[40] In Tanzania, the children of the salaried classes enter secondary and post-secondary levels of education in numbers disproportionate to their distribution in the population.[41] In Tunisia, 8.8 times

the number of students whose fathers are of high socioeconomic status are receiving higher education than one would expect from the proportion of high socioeconomic people in the population. And data from a study of students at the University of Karachi show that children of parents with university education are overrepresented by 27 times compared to children of illiterate parents.[42]

Studies in Western Europe have shown that the chance of gaining access to university for students from the 'underprivileged' groups is still considerably lower than those from the upper social strata (five times less in the best Western European sample), although this is improving.[43] For example, children from middle-class homes in the UK have almost six times as much chance of reaching university as children from working-class homes. And in West Germany, Williamson reports that the lower the income of the head of the family, the greater the likelihood that a child will be enrolled in Hauptschule, which does not lead on to university education.[44] Furthermore, all Western European countries show regional disparities in the number of students enrolled in secondary and higher education.[45]

In Eastern Europe, the situation is similar in many ways. Dobson says that, in the USSR, among secondary school graduates, fewer people from the lower status groups apply to higher education institutions or pass the entrance examination and children from high status families make up a disproportionately large share of the applicants and those who pass the examination. But he says that the selection process does not work as vigorously to limit lower-class children's access to higher education as it does in West European countries.[46] The same phenomenon can be seen in all the Eastern European countries.[47]

The examples quoted above concern two kinds of imbalance in

access: the rural-urban differences and the middle-class - working-class differences, which are interrelated. Historically, rural areas have usually had lower educational provision than urban areas, both from the point of view of the number of schools available and the quality of the education given in these schools. Since the rural populations are usually much more scattered, it follows that children have to travel further to reach school, especially after the first few grades of primary. Their attendance at school is also dependent on their not being required for work at home. The children of urban parents rarely have these problems. Schools are more accessible and their parents, more likely to be employed in the modern-sector economy, are unlikely to require their children's help at home.

When schools are provided in the rural areas, especially in developing countries, the quality of the facilities provided is generally much lower than in urban areas. In Kenya, for example, each school has a Government allowance for books and other materials but the urban centres provide more of these facilities and also attract better teachers.[48] This kind of pattern can be found in many of the developing countries.

The countries of the West find the rural-urban differences less of a problem. The higher standard of living and the different structure of the economy mean that younger people no longer need to contribute to the household, certainly at primary school level. But studies in Norway have found differential enrolments at secondary level between urban and rural children.[49]

The rural-urban differences can theoretically be solved by providing more money for rural education. But the middle-class - working-class differences are more deep-rooted. Middle-class children

have advantages over working-class children over and above any differential access to education. These advantages arise from the home background, where the environment is more conducive to studying, where there is a larger volume of reading material, where there is greater contact with 'educated' people and where the parents tend to encourage the children to continue up the educational ladder. Middle-class children are thus oriented towards schooling in a way working-class children are not. The problems are compounded when dealing with working-class rural populations.

Inequalities exist between other divisions of society, according to tribal, racial, religious and linguistic differences. In Kenya, some tribes are overrepresented in the educational system, partly because they live nearer urban centres or because of their greater exposure to the influence of the missionaries during the colonial period.[50] In the US, blacks are still participating in education, and particularly higher education, at levels below that of their white counterparts. In 1974, even with the decline of white enrolments in universities, only 8.6% of the male student enrolment was black, which was 24.5% of the age-group, whereas white participation was 34% of the age-group.[51] Religious factors often work against access to education for the female population. Islamic societies, for example, have traditionally resisted education for women and although greater emancipation is now occurring, the education of the female population still lags behind that of the males in many Islamic countries.[52] In a multilingual society, the choice of one or several languages as media of instruction puts at a disadvantage children who have a different mother tongue.[53]

These social inequalities are much harder to resolve since they cannot be legislated against effectively. Their effects are particu-

larly felt in education, where the system is based on promotion by academic merit. In this case, those with the best quality of education and the greatest access to schooling and an educated environment will find academic examinations less of a hurdle.

The use of selection at all in an education system is forced by economic constraints. Many countries of the developing world find that they must select proportionately few people for secondary school and even fewer for university level. The spiralling costs of education at succeeding levels make this essential. For example, UNESCO figures show that, in Thailand, it costs three times as much to educate a secondary school pupil and 19 times as much to educate a university student as a primary one. In Tanzania, it costs nine times as much to educate a secondary school pupil and 120 times as much for a university student compared to a primary pupil and, in Malawi, over 200 students can be supported in primary school for every one at university.[54] Some of the developed countries have come closer to eliminating selection by providing university places for the majority of their secondary school leavers, for example, the US and Japan. But much of the costs for this kind of educational provision must be borne by the individual and even when loans are available, the system is still biased in favour of those with money, even if tuition is free, because of living costs and income foregone. Furthermore, elite universities which are academically selective develop within such a system. This point will be developed more fully in chapter 2.

If enrolment has to be restricted at the tertiary level, on what criteria must the selection take place? A country with limited resources will want to make the best possible use of its tertiary education spending and hence will want to select:

1. those who demonstrate the highest possibility of completing their studies

2. those who have the best chance of completing with the best results

3. those who have the best chance of succeeding as professionals

Thus, ability would seem to be the logical starting point for selection criteria. Historically, academic ability has been the preferred basis for university selection in both the developed and the developing world, though differing levels of 'excellence' are demanded in different countries.

In Europe, the taking of examinations at the end of secondary school is the traditional method of university entrance. These certificates, in countries such as the UK, Finland and Yugoslavia are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for entry. Further selection occurs based on grades in these examinations and recommendations from the secondary schools. In Germany and France, possession of the Abitur or the Baccalauréat guaranteed entry to university. In the US, a secondary school leaving certificate will guarantee access but the higher status institutions require the taking of standard examinations over and above this and select according to the results of these examinations. In Japan, two thirds of the universities organise an examination which is fiercely competitive.[56] However, many of the European countries have now moved towards other methods of selection for university and these will be discussed in chapter 2. The USSR has a similar policy on admissions whereby a competitive examination is taken after ten years of schooling.[57]

The developing countries in general followed the same course. The mode in Africa is a successful secondary school record and the passing of examinations for university. In Latin America, the principal screening device is completion of secondary education.[58] Most

of Asia follows a similar pattern, with the exception of India and Philippines, where access is much more open but, there, the elite universities screen off the best students using academic criteria.

Some developing countries have attempted to move away from academic criteria only, notably Tanzania and Cuba, following the Chinese model of the Cultural Revolution period. There, other factors such as work experience and political awareness have been important supplementary criteria of suitability for higher education (although China itself appears to have moved back to purely academic criteria). Others have tried to use regional quotas for education or racial quotas as in the US. Whether the quota solution is more equitable is debatable. The idea of positive discrimination is to equalise opportunities but this must necessarily be at the expense of other students who are academically more able but who come from the wrong 'race'. Although it is unfair to penalise children because they come from a poor background (and so fair to give them compensatory help), it is equally unfair to penalise children because they come from a good background.

Yet other attempts have been made to expand access, by opening it up to those without the usual academic qualifications. A discussion of these open access approaches will be postponed until chapter 2 but it is doubtful whether increased access confers more benefit on disadvantaged children than on others. The pattern seems to be that all parts of society benefit and at the end of the day, the differentiations still remain.

Inequalities exist in all societies and are rooted in the social and economic structure; the education system is merely a reflection of this structure. Thus, although education may, in some small way, be able to break down some barriers, no real equality will be pos-

sible until there is a radical restructuring of society as a whole. As Frankel and Halsey say:

> "Too much has been claimed for the power of educational systems as instruments for the wholesale reform of societies which are characteristically hierarchical in their distribution of chances in life as between races, classes, the sexes and as between metropolitan/suburban and provincial/rural populations. The typical history of educational expansion in the 1950's and 1960's for the OECD countries can be represented by a graph of inequality of attainment between the above mentioned social categories which has shifted markedly upwards without changing its slope. In other words, relative chances have not altered materially despite expansion." (59)

Despite these reservations about what education can be expected to achieve, the concern with equality has been an important factor in the expansion of the number of places available in tertiary education institutions.

5. The diploma disease. The discussion so far has been concerned with the impetus from the governments for expansion of the system. But as has been said, there has been an as great, if not greater, push from 'the people' towards expanding the educational system - and not without good reason. If it is true that a person with primary schooling earns more and has a greater opportunity to enter a high-status job than someone else with no education, then it is not surprising that more people want primary education. And if it is true that a secondary school graduate earns more than a primary graduate and a university graduate earns more than anybody, then it is equally not surprising that more people want a university degree.

But the argument goes further then this. If a large number of people have primary education, then primary education will become a prerequisite for obtaining a large number of jobs, which were

previously obtainable without formal education. Then, to 'get ahead', it becomes necessary to have secondary school qualifications. And in time, a secondary school qualification becomes the norm for jobs, which were previously jobs for primary school leavers. And so on. And suddenly, or so it seems, the job market begins to depend largely on formal qualifications and no longer on demonstrable skills or demonstrable potential to obtain these skills.

It is arguable that possession of a formal qualification is demonstration of a skill, or a potential to learn, in a more formalised embodiment. But this statement depends on believing that the quality of the teaching and the learning, which have produced this qualification, are of a good standard, i.e. that the person has been educated and not just schooled.

Many writers have strong doubts as to the place that qualification holds in the present educational system. Dore has expressed concern that the schools and universities have become mere job recruitment centres for the employers, who allocate jobs only if the people possess the correct labels, i.e. have the right qualifications. As soon as people realise this, the desire for education becomes a desire for qualification, the 'education' becoming merely the means to an end. The more people who have the 'right qualifications', the more necessary it becomes to have the right qualifications and the higher the 'right qualifications' become in the first place.[60]

Blakemore backs up Dore's thesis:

> "The African school system's primary function is to act as a recruitment sieve for employers rather than to actually improve the pool of skills and expertise in the labour force." (61)

Thus although education is expanding, it is expanding in order to 'get qualifications.' Reid-Thomas talks of India's 'diploma mills,'

where students seldom choose a college or university for the subjects it offers; they gain admission first and then choose their field of study. He also quotes the interesting finding that:

> "If every college teacher in India published one paper per year, all the scholarly journals in the country would have to appear two or three times a day to keep up with them. Even one paper in a lifetime would strain the publishing facilities." (62)

This last quote could be a reflection on the number of scholarly journals but is meant to indicate the size of the university system in India, where the literacy rate is 33% and there are five million students enrolled in higher education.

The rates of return analysts have tried to show that this desire for education is a sensible one and can be explained by a perception of the economic advantages to be gained from education, as opposed to other forms of private investment. For example, in India, the private rates of return on higher education exceed the yield on alternative forms of investment in nearly every case.[63]

One point that is certainly true is that, particularly in developing countries, salaries increase greatly with level of education achieved. In Uganda, a secondary school graduate's average salary is 20 times the per capita income; in India about eight times; Brazilian university graduates can earn more than 16 times the average income of illiterates. In the developed countries, differences in wages between those with different levels of education seem to be shrinking but in developing countries, these differences appear to be expanding.[64] Table 1.3 below indicates the kind of differentials existing at the beginning of the 1970's.

However, although, in general terms, people are aiming for more and higher levels of qualification because of the economic

advantages to be gained, even when the economic advantages to be gained are small or non-existent, from the rates of return point of view, for example, in Philippines or Japan for graduates of certain universities,[65] people still feel that university education will give them some benefit economically speaking. The hard facts of the matter are that educational qualifications and particularly higher education qualifications are used to allocate jobs. No matter what the chances are (as shown by rates of return analyses) of obtaining these jobs, the fact that there is a chance will mean that there will be large numbers of people trying to grasp it.

Table 1.3. Mean ratios of average annual earnings of labour by educational level and level of development.

Degree of development[a]	Primary over none	Secondary over Primary	Higher over Secondary	Higher over Primary	Higher over none
Developed	n.a.	1.43	1.68	2.39	n.a.
Intermediate	2.40	1.87	1.81	3.36	8.85
Less developed	2.43	2.39	2.67	6.39	17.31

Note: a Developed: US, Canada, UK, Netherlands, France, Norway.
Intermediate: Greece, Israel, Mexico, Chile, Colombia.
Less developed: Malaysia, Philippines, Ghana, S.Korea, Uganda, Nigeria, India, Kenya.

Source: G.Psacharopoulos, Returns to education, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973), p.132.

The expansion of higher education over the last ten years has not been a controlled one. It has been allowed to happen for some or all of the above reasons in many countries. Whether it will continue to happen will depend on several factors, for example, the usefulness of higher education in the job market, the relationship between job allocation and educational qualifications, the costs of higher education to the governments and individuals, etc. Already

the expansion has had an influence on the employment market. The following section will discuss in more specific terms what the effects are on graduate employment. A more general discussion of the implications of university expansion will be left until the end of chapter 2.

Graduate employment

Graduate unemployment, taken to mean the inability of graduates to find jobs commensurate with their training, is a relatively new phenomenon in the developed world. Until recently, the industrial economies were able to absorb the vast majority of the high-level manpower which the universities produced. As late as 1974, Fischer said that graduate unemployment was not a problem in West Germany. Graduates, even in 'problem' disciplines, such as political science, had normally been able to find jobs commensurate with their academic status, if not always with their academic specialities.[66] However, there is a growing concern in the West over the rising graduate unemployment figures. In the US, findings show that in 1972, unemployment amongst graduates of three months standing was 11.7%, as compared with the 1968 figure of 0.7%. Graduates in the arts and social sciences in 1972 faced figures of 15.4% and 16.0% respectively.[67]

The problem in developing countries is similar. Blaug reports that 6% of the secondary and university graduates in India in the late 1960's had no employment whatsoever[68] (and this does not include the large number of graduates employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs). The situation was similar, he reported, in Pakistan, Korea, Egypt and Argentina. Dore adds a few more countries to the list, such as Nigeria, Malaysia and Kenya where there is a surplus

of graduates problem[64] and unemployment amongst graduates in the Philippines one year after graduation is regularly 60%.[70]

Concern for this problem is not lacking in the Third World. At one of the UNESCO conferences in 1978, the delegations:

> "emphasised the need to reappraise the quality, relevance and social context of traditional university and college education in the face of mounting numbers of educated unemployed."[71]

They saw this as a problem both for the students, who experienced frustration on not being able to find suitable employment and also for the governments concerned, who seemed to be underutilising qualified human resources in a rather costly manner.

The unemployment problem is not only one of numbers but also that of graduates who have degree specialities inappropriate to the job market. Blaug points out that although there were high rates of unemployment amongst B.Sc.'s and M.Sc.'s and the beginning of unemployment amongst engineers and technicians in India, the unemployment was greatest among arts and commerce students.[72] In Brazil today, the employment market for administration is saturated and there are 10,000 unemployed engineers in Sao Paolo alone, with 10,000 new engineers graduating each year from the city's 64 engineering schools.[73]

The arts and social sciences continue to be popular subjects, however, both from the governments' point of view, because the provision of this type of higher education is cheaper than for scientific and technical subjects and from the students' point of view when, in countries where students pay their own fees, studying arts and social sciences costs less. In India and Philippines, where there is a large private education sector, many of the private colleges and universities concentrate on these low-cost subjects.[74] However, the UNESCO conference cited above also reported that in the

preceding few years, almost all of the developing countries in Asia and Oceania had increased their enrolments in scientific and technical fields faster than in the arts fields.[75]

It may seem illogical for students to continue to enrol in arts and social science subjects if the employment prospects are poor but, in fact, with the qualification escalation, once one is in the modern-sector employment range, the higher the qualification one has, regardless of the subject matter, the more chance there is of getting any job. In Philippines, many college graduates occupy positions in government and business fields that would be filled by secondary school graduates in countries such as Thailand and Malaysia.[76]

Thus, in some ways, it is not surprising that students continue to pursue higher levels of education. Given that the cost of higher education is heavily subsidised and that the foregone earnings of education levels without experience on the job are small, compared to wages without education and experience, the risk of unemployment in the early years is less significant than the possible maximum return.[77] Paradoxically, as Carnoy points out, a decreased unemployment rate could reduce the demand for education because when unemployment falls, income foregone by remaining in school rises.[78]

However, recent writers have seemed to indicate that the employment problem may be rather overstated. Psacharopoulos points out that in developing countries, unemployment amongst university graduates is more or less equal to the average unemployment rate for the working population as a whole. Also, unemployment is a sharply declining function of age and time since graduation, i.e. a great part of what appears to be unemployment is, in fact, a voluntary search process.[79]

Carnoy is more optimistic too about the unemployment problem. He says that although unemployment rates tend to remain high in developing capitalist countries and although they continue to include the highly educated, most evidence indicates that unemployment rates will drop more substantially for the college educated than for those with primary and secondary education only. Apparently the demand for highly educated labour grows more rapidly than the demand for less educated labour; employers substitute better educated for more poorly educated workers as the labour-capital ratio falls.[80]

Whichever of the interpretations of graduate unemployment is correct, if there is a serious unemployment problem, then not only is this an inefficient utilisation of resources, it can also have serious political consequences.

Students and politics

The issue of the relationship between political activism and the student population is not a new one, although it did come into particular prominence in the late 1960's in the developed countries and in certain selected countries since then. Ashby, in discussing the history of universities in India and Africa, points out that in a country under foreign rule, education breeds discontent. He says that after independence comes, universities are always a 'thorn in the side of the Government' and he puts this forward as a reason why many of the newly independent African countries resisted the development of higher education.[81]

But, more generally, as the amount of education increases, the people become more sophisticated as far as political information is concerned. Not only do they absorb more information but they also tend to think more critically about what they absorb and are

less passive in the acceptance of situations which they see as wrong or deficient in some ways.

The universities are a particular focus of this kind of disaffection for various reasons, not the least of which is the fact that university students are at an age which is much more idealistic, and where the reality of earning a living, supporting a family and general life experience does not impose a restraint on their attitudes towards authority in general.

The political activities of the student bodies in the 1960's in the West were initially directed towards the academic institutions or the institution of academia and its administrators, rather than more directly concerned with political matters. The intellectual leaders of the universities were seen as ineffectual and often obstructive, hence the 'political' activism. Later the student demonstrations turned towards specific political issues usually concerned with foreign policy, such as Vietnam in the US and South Africa in Britain.

But the problems which some of the developing countries have had with their students, countries such as Thailand, Sri Lanka, China and many of the Latin American countries, have been of a rather different kind, more directly related to general domestic government activities and politics. Lipset sees this kind of threat as particularly likely in countries where the adult elites are ill-organised and military leadership is a possibility or a reality. He says that in countries liable to military coups, the student organisations are of major significance.[82] The campus-type university brings together students in large numbers and their similar life-situations and the proximity, which provides a potential for organisation, can lead to the forming of units which wield great

power. This is especially true of countries where other types of organisation are not possible; for example, countries under martial law, where gatherings of any kind, including trade unions, may be banned entirely. Organised student activities may be banned also but the very presence of large numbers of students cannot be. The larger the university, the larger the number of people who will have a tendency to political action. A large number of students also provides some kind of anonymity which might draw in other students who, in smaller institutions, might be less willing to take any kind of political action.

Thus, it is not surprising that large universities tend to be more politically active than smaller ones, a conclusion reached by both Lipset and Tierney from studies they conducted. Tierney also found a greater tendency to activism in public institutions than private ones in the Latin American context.[83] This problem is exacerbated if the university is in a large city, particularly the capital. Here national political organisations and personalities, by their very presence, stimulate political activity in the students and are a focal point for any demonstration they may want to make.

Lipset, in his study, also found that in scientific and technical subjects, students showed less tendency to be politically active than their arts and science counterparts.[84] There are three reasons which could explain this: one, that the content of arts and particularly social science courses, with its often clearly immediate social and political relevance and importance, makes students more au fait with the current issues; two, that the science subjects are generally more structured and demand more periods of concentrated study leaving less time for political concern; three, that the employment prospects are much better for these students.

Arts and social science students in many countries, particularly in the developing world, see unemployment looming up ahead of them as a stark reality. It is not surprising then, that after fifteen or more years of study, a bleak future seems a poor reward and a white-collar job is little nearer than when they first set out on the educational trail. The disgruntlement becomes concentrated on the government and the privileged elites, which are blamed for perceived and real injustices in the social order.

So far, few countries have experienced a political backlash from the students on the scale of that found in Thailand and Sri Lanka in the 1970's. But it is not inconceivable that as the universities expand further and the modern sector of the economy becomes increasingly unable to absorb the graduates, the political awareness of the students could result in destructive outbreaks. It must be in a rather ambivalent frame of mind that governments then continue on their course of expanding the tertiary education sector.

In conclusion

That the university systems throughout the world have expanded rapidly in recent years is clear. Some of this expansion has been caused by changing demographic patterns, some by concern with social equality and some by popular demand. The costs of the universities, more often than not borne mainly by the governments, are large. With the need for rapid expansion in mind and the need to minimise the costs of this rapid expansion, many countries have begun to look for new approaches to university education. The next chapter will look more closely at the new developments and will concentrate particularly on the idea of open universities, their aims, their

methods and their problems as compared to other kinds of provision which have sprung up.

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	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
India	65	29	4
Philippines	105	56	20

The numbers are percentages of the age-group for 1975, from UNESCO Statistical yearbook, 1976.
The Indian investment in education has increased 3160% between 1951-2 and 1977-8, rising from 8% of the total expenditure in 1951-2 to 12% in 1977-9. Figures are from the Fourth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and Oceania, Colombo, 1978, Final report, (Paris: UNESCO/ESCAP, 1978), p.23.

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21. See G.Williams and O.Fulton, Playing the USSR numbers game, Times Higher Education Supplement (London), 25/7/80.

22. There are many other problems associated with rates of return analysis but these are beyond the scope of this thesis. But see M.Woodhall, Cost-benefit analysis in educational planning, (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1970), (Fundamentals of educational planning, 13), p.25-32.

23. R.Dore, The diploma disease, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976), p.6.

24. ibid., p.22-3.

25. G.Psacharopoulos, Returns to education, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973), ch.9, gives a fuller discussion of this issue.

26. Simmons, op.cit., p.19-20.

27. C.A.Anderson, Sweden re-examines higher education: a critique of the U 68 reform, Comparative Education (Oxford), 1974, vol.10, p.167-8.

28. A.Hearnden, Individual freedom and state intervention in East and West German education, Comparative Education (Oxford), 1974, vol.10, p.132-3 explains that the East German view is that the culture being transmitted via the school curriculum must be fashioned in accordance with the economic needs of

the State and hence with the good of society as a whole, as defined by long-term planning and the Party policy. Thus transition to university is controlled according to projected manpower needs.

29. M.Blaug, An introduction to the economics of education, (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1970), p.xviii.

30. F.Marcos, A reflection on the human condition, Source and date unknown, p.14.

31. See P.Foster, Education and social change in Ghana, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.190 and London University Institute of Education, Department of Education in Developing Countries, An African primary curriculum survey: Botswana, (1976).

32. G.Myrdal, Asian drama, (Penguin Books, 1968).

33. P.Foster, Education and social change in Ghana, op.cit., p.190-9. However, it must be stressed that Foster does not see academic and vocational education as polar opposites. To quote:

> "Those who criticise the "traditional" nature of ... demand for "academic" as opposed to "vocational" education fail to recognise that the strength of academic education has lain precisely in the fact that it is preeminently a vocational education providing access to those occupations with the most prestige and, most important, the highest pay."

P.Foster, The vocational school fallacy in development planning, op.cit., p.145-6.

34. W.Taylor, Summary report by the general rapporteur, in OECD, Policies for higher education, (Paris, 1974), p.142.

35. Burn, op.cit., p.195.

36. D.B.Udalagama, Educational trends in the Beautiful Island, Education and Training (London), 1976, vol. 18, p.321.

37. D.I.Chambers, The 1975-1976 debate over higher education in the People's Republic of China, Comparative Education (Oxford), 1977, vol.13, p.5. Middle school is for 13-17 year olds in China.

38. Burn, op.cit., p.197.

39. T.Husen, Problems of securing equal access to higher education: the dilemma between equality and excellence, Higher Education (Amsterdam), 1976, vol.5, p.413.

40. ILO, Towards full employment, (Geneva: ILO, 1973), p.220.

41. See M.Mblinyi, Schooling, class and underdevelopment, in M. Mblinyi, Who goes to school in East Africa? (University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1976) and G.Mmari, Implementation of the Musoma Resolutions: the University of Dar-es-Salaam's admission ex-

perience, in Papers in education and development III, (University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1976).

42. Simmons, op.cit., p.40.

43. L.Cerych, D.Furth and G.S.Papodopoulos, Overall issues in the development of future structures of post-secondary education, in OECD, op.cit., p.26.

44. W.Williamson, Patterns of educational inequality in West Germany, Comparative Education (Oxford), 1977, vol.13, p.31.

45. A.Sauvy, Access to education, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), p.69.

46. R.B.Dobson, Social status and inequality of access to higher education in the USSR, in Karabel and Halsey, op.cit., p.275.

47. Sauvy, op.cit., p.44.

48. K.Kinyanjui, The distribution of educational resources and opportunities in Kenya, in Mblinyi, op.cit.

49. A.P.Kottis and G.C.Kottis, Educational disparities in an egalitarian society: the case of Norway, International Review of Education (Hamburg), 1973, vol.19, found that there were no regional differences in attendance because primary education was compulsory. But in 1963, of the 688 communities studied, almost 13% had no student finishing gymnasium, which is a prerequisite for advanced training.

50. J.B.Olson, Secondary school and elites in Kenya: a comparative study of students in 1961 and 1968, Comparative Education Review (New York), 1972, vol.16, p.45.

51. R.B.Freeman, The overeducated American, (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p.37.

52. See G.N.Brown and M.Hiskett, Conflict and harmony in education in Tropical Africa, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975), and the Times Educational Supplement (London), 1/4/77, Supplement on Muslim education.

53. See B.D.Silver, The status of national minority languages in Soviet education: an assessment of recent changes, Soviet Studies (Glasgow), 1974, vol.26, p.28-40 and E.Koutaissof and R.H.F.Dalton, The problem of expanding education in multilingual states with special reference to the Soviet Union, in World Yearbook of Education 1965: the education explosion, (London: Evans), which discusses the Indian solution to the language problem whereby all children must learn Hindi and one other Indian language. This policy was introduced after it was seen that when Hindi was the only Indian language used in school, the native Hindi speakers had a distinct advantage over the rest of the population.

54. UNESCO Statistical yearbook, 1976.

55. B.Nevo, "Scientific" and "ideological" considerations in admission policies, Durham Research Review, 1976, vol.7, p.1118.

56. J.-P.Pellegrin, Admission policies in post-secondary education, in OECD, Towards mass higher education, 1974, p.78-9.

57. A.Matthews, Soviet students: some sociological perspectives, Soviet Studies (Glasgow), 1975, vol.27, p.87.

58. Harbison, op.cit., p.64. In Latin America, much of the secondary schooling is fee-paying and thus open only to the relatively well-to-do in any case, following which university education may be free.

59. C.H.Frankel and A.H.Halsey, Summary report in OECD, Educational policies for the 1970's, (Paris, 1971), p.14.

60. Dore, op.cit., chapter 1.

61. K.P.Blakemore, Resistance to formal education in Ghana: its implications for the status of school leavers, Comparative Education Review (New York), 1975, vol.19, p.237, paraphrasing E.R.Rado, The relevance of education for employment, Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge), 1972, vol.10.

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63. M.Blaug, R.Layard and M.Woodhall, Causes of graduate unemployment in India, (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1969).

64. Simmons, op.cit., p.35.

65. Dore, op.cit., p.90.

66. A.Fischer, American university planning and its relevance to German education policy, International Review of Education (Hamburg), 1974, vol.20, p.139.

67. Freeman, op.cit., p.21.

68. M.Blaug, An introduction to the economics of education, op.cit., p.25.

69. Dore, op.cit., p.152.

70. A.L.Tenmatay, Country report (Philippines), in A.Tapingkae (ed.), The growth of Southeast Asian universities: expansion versus consolidation, (Singapore: Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, 1974), p.84.

71. Fourth Regional Conference, op.cit., p.18.

72. Blaug, An introduction to the economics of education, op.cit., p.237.

73. F.Haussman, Dilemma for Brazil's graduates, Times Higher Education Supplement (London), 25/7/80.

74. See Reid-Thomas, op.cit., and World Bank, The Philippines: priorities and prospects for development, (1977), p.292.

75. Fourth Regional Conference, op.cit., p.18.

76. World Bank, op.cit., p.293.

77. Simmons, op.cit., p.39.

78. M.Carnoy, Can education alone solve the problem of unemployment?, in Simmons, op.cit., p.160.

79. G.Psacharopoulos, Higher education in developing countries: a cost-benefit analysis, (World Bank, Education Department, Staff Working Paper No. 440, 1980), p.46-8.

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82. S.M.Lipset, University students and politics in underdeveloped countries, Comparative Education Review (New York), 1966, vol.10, p.143.

83. J.F.Tierney, Higher education in Latin America in an era of change, in World Yearbook of Education 1972/3, op.cit., p.106.

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Chapter 2. Expanding and extending university provision: the move to open universities

Chapter 1 has dealt with the issue of why there has been an expansion of university education worldwide and why there is still an increasing demand for education at the tertiary level. This chapter will begin with a look at some of the ways provision of university education has been increased and what the drawbacks and advantages of the different approaches are. The chapter will focus on the move towards open universities, particularly in the developing world and will conclude with an introduction to the main body of the research work for the thesis.

Approaches to expanding and extending university provision

When one looks at the question of expanding university provision, one can think of expansion in two ways; one, as increasing the number of people receiving university education and two, as extending provision so as to include people from different sections of the population, for example, disadvantaged groups. This second meaning of expansion may or may not involve an increase in numbers also. If one surveys the different attempts to expand and extend university provision in different parts of the world, one can see that they fall into four general categories:

(a) Increasing the number of traditional-type universities, through opening more institutions or upgrading lower-level institutions, or by expanding the institutions already in existence.

(b) Changing the face of the traditional university system by, for example, opening access to students not previously entitled to enter university, shortening the length of courses, etc.

(c) Introducing universal or mass higher education.

(d) Introducing open universities of various kinds.

Each of these solutions has been attempted already and I will try to assess the effectiveness of each type of solution, bearing in mind the importance of equality in education, cost and feasibility, especially for developing countries. Undoubtedly, it is the developed world which has led the way in these fields but developing countries are also faced with the problem of how to expand higher education and this is the major concern of my thesis.

(a) More or larger traditional-type universities. Traditional-type universities here refers to the kind of university which is most commonly found in Western countries, i.e. generally a relatively autonomous institution where students, who have been selected before entry, attend lectures/discussion groups/laboratories for theoretical and practical work, full-time, for a period of three to six years, depending on the kind of courses and the country concerned. There are obviously fairly large differences between countries on the details of the institutions but almot all conform to this general pattern. If one was to expand higher education, then it would seem reasonable to start from the idea of opening more institutions of this kind. Certainly in the 1960's, the European pattern was to adopt this approach, for example, the setting-up of new universities in Britain after the Robbins report or even the more recent expansion in Greece, where six new universities were set up between 1964 and 1977.[1]

A variation on this kind of approach is to upgrade existing institutions to university status, over a period of time. Again, Britain is an example of a country using this kind of approach, with the incorporation of the polytechnics into university-level edu-

cation. Denmark, too, has upgraded many colleges and other institutions towards university or near-university level and France began incorporating a number of highly specialised Schools of Engineering into its higher education system in the 1960's and 1970's.[2]

But the use of traditional universities to expand higher education provision has come under wide criticism in recent years, from two points of view. Firstly, traditional universities are charged with being elitist in nature, i.e. they are very selective institutions and the few selected usually come from certain kinds of social categories at the expense of others. This is the problem of equality of access discussed in chapter 1.

As was said in that chapter, most universities throughout the world select students for university from the secondary schools by means of academic examinations. Although, technically, everyone has an equal chance to pass the required examinations, the social bias inherent in academic selection limits the actual accessibility of university education for working class children. Thus, although the elite universities do select people who have the ability to complete higher education, there are others in the population who are equally able but who have not had the opportunities to demonstrate this. Thus human resources are wasted by rejecting those who would profit from higher education given the chance and who would make a useful contribution to society thereafter.

The second criticism of traditional universities is concerned with costs. Higher education of this kind is relatively expensive, involving a large amount of money spent on buildings such as libraries, providing equipment for practical work and employing teaching staff at usually low student/teacher ratios. At the beginning of the 1970's, developed and developing countries spent on average 16.2% and 16.7% respectively of their education budgets on higher edu-

Table 2.1. Distribution of educational budgets and enrolments by region (circa 1973)

Region	Primary		Secondary		Higher	
	Percent of budget	Percent of enrolment	Percent of budget	% of enrolment	% of budget	% of enrolment
Africa[a] (excluding Arab States)	49	88.4	34	10.9	13	0.7
Asia (excluding Arab States)	43	70.3	30	26.2	18	3.5
Arab States[b]	40	74.3	36	22.5	20	3.2
Latin America	52	80.9	26	15.1	17	4.0
Mean	48	76.5	30	20.7	17	2.8

Notes: a Percent of budget to primary education is the average of "Eastern" and "Western" Africa regions. Budget based on a sample that includes Sudan.
b Budget based on a sample that includes Turkey.

Sources: M.Zymelman, Patterns of educational expenditures, (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Staff Working Paper, no.246, November, 1976) and UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1975, both quoted in J.Simmons (ed.), The education dilemma, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), p.30.

cation.[3] Table 2.1 below indicates the percentage of education budget allocated to different levels of education in developing countries around 1973. When we compare the percentage of enrolment this money covers, we can see that higher education has a rather high allocation of money per student.

Most of the higher education referred to in Table 2.1 is of the traditional kind. This is particularly expansive for developing countries compared to the amount they spend on primary and secondary schools. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 below indicate the relative costs of higher education for different groups of countries.

Table 2.2. Ratios of social costs by educational levels per student year (primary = 1)

Degree of development	Secondary/Primary	Higher/Primary
Developed[a]	6.6	17.6
Intermediate[b]	6.6	20.9
Less developed[c]	11.9	87.9

Notes: a New Zealand, UK, US.
b Chile, Colombia, Israel, Mexico.
c Ghana, India, Kenya, S.Korea, Nigeria, Uganda, Malaysia.
Social costs are defined as direct costs plus earnings foregone.

Source: G.Psacharopoulos, Returns to education, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973), p.127.

If university expansion is to continue in developing countries, and all indications from chapter 1 are that it will, some solution must be found to reduce the relatively high expenditure required when traditional university education is the approach used.

It is true that as enrolment increases, the per student costs decrease. But although economies of scale may sweeten the pill as far as costs go, increasing the size of universities has other disadvantages. As Niblett points out, it brings its own dangers; lines

of communication become much more difficult and universities become more dehumanised.[4] Sanford expresses this idea quite clearly:

> "The more students there are, the more disconnected they tend to be from each other, from the faculty, and from the administration. Attending larger classes, a student has less opportunity to know his teachers; and dealing with a largely impersonal bureaucracy, he is taught to regard himself less as a person than as a set of responses to institutional requirements." (5)

Furthermore, in chapter 1 it was ponted out that as university size increases, political activism amongst the students also increases and for many countries, this is a real concern.

Table 2.3. Index of social unit costs per student year.

Degree of development	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Developed[a]	100	172	660
Intermediate[b]	100	246	1297
Less developed[c]	100	496	5032

Notes: a US, UK, New Zealand.
b Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Israel.
c India, Malaysia, S.Korea, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda.

Source: G.Psacharopoulos, Returns to education, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973), p.177.

These kinds of problems have led to some disillusionment with the idea of traditional university education and have led to other kinds of solutions being attempted, in an effort to expand university provision.

(b) Opening up access to universities. Leaving aside the problem of costs for the moment, some countries have concentrated on the problem of how to extend access to university, thus breaking

down the elitist nature of the traditional system. Usually it is already existing traditional-type universities which take part in this kind of programme. It is decided that, within their present mode of working, they can accommodate students without the traditional qualifications alongside those who have taken the normal qualifying examinations.

Some of these policy changes are designed to open up access to adults who, for whatever reasons, do not possess the secondary school qualification demanded of the new school leavers. For example, in Sweden, the 25/5 scheme admits students of 25 years of age or over, who have had five years of gainful employment or house-work. These people are considered to have the equivalent of the required upper school qualifications, though, in most cases, knowledge of a specific subject is added as a requirement for a specific higher education programme.[6] In France, an increasing number of students is being admitted to the universities and the grandes écoles without the baccalauréat. Applicants are instead assessed for suitability by aptitude tests and personal interviews and are expected to have at least five years experience in business or industry.[7] And the Australian universities, traditionally highly selective, are beginning to offer places to students who have not taken the school matriculation examination; for example, Monash University allocates the last 10% of its course numbers to those who would not otherwise gain admission, i.e. Aboriginals, those whose first language is not English, etc.; at Flinders University, some candidates are assessed for admission by essays, aptitude tests and interviews; and at Griffith University, in Brisbane, 10% of the students who are admitted do not have the formal qualifications.[8]

Other countries have introduced alternative examinations which

will permit admission to universities. For example, in Denmark, they have introduced the HF examination (hojere forberedelseksamen) as an alternative to the studentereksamen. This involves a two-year course, open to anyone who has finished ten years of schooling and is now accepted by most tertiary institutions as a satisfactory university entrance examination.[9] In Germany, besides the Abitur, there is another qualification which can lead to university entrance; this is the Fachgebundere Hochschulreife which allows entry to Fachoberschule, a kind of sub-university institution. After one year of study in this kind of institution, a student can transfer to university proper. The Fachhochschulreife is taken after two years of study at Fachoberschule, for which an intermediate level qualification is needed - the Mittlere Reife.[10] And in Austria, starting in 1980, adults between the ages of 25 and 45 can take a special form of examination stretching over two weeks and including a written examination of a general topic and an oral examination.[11]

These examples show that in some countries, it is not now always necessary to proceed through the traditional school system to reach university. Allowance is made for those who may want to change their mind after choosing to leave school and engage in some kind of employment. The Netherlands has tried to make access more open in a different kind of way, by using a lottery system. This means that those who score less than 7.5 on the matriculation examination are not automatically excluded from university but go into a lottery, whereby their chances of gaining a university place still rest on their matriculation mark, but, at least, they still have a chance; for example, in 1971, those with 7 had a 95% chance of gaining a place, those with under 6.5 a 64% chance.[12]

The Soviet Union, too, has for long extended access to univer-

sity by a different method; offering higher education by evening class (or correspondence course) and they have found that the majority of students who enrol in this kind of course are 'workers.'[13]

All the examples quoted above are examples from the developed world. Clearly, the kind of expanded access described here has taken place in countries with an already relatively extensive higher education system. Opening access up to other kinds of students may not actually involve an increase in numbers attending university, although this often happens. These 'additional' people are all attending already established institutions. The pressure in developing countries is more often one of numbers, rather than of 'mix,' and actually finding more places at university level. Thus, although these attempts to tackle the inequality in education are laudable, in themselves they are not the answer to the problem in developing countries. However, as will be seen later in this thesis, some of the ideas have been useful to developing countries when they have turned to their own methods of tackling university expansion.

(c) Adopting a policy of universal or mass higher education

The difference between this category of expansion and the first one I quoted, i.e. expanding traditional-type universities, is in extent of expansion. There are no hard and fast rules about this but Trow roughly classifies a university system according to the percentage of the age-group it enrols; an elite system enrols up to 15% of the age-group; a mass system takes up to 50% of the age-group; thereafter one is beginning to approach universal higher education.[14] Clearly these boundaries are very flexible but we can find examples of systems in both the developed and the developing worlds which we could classify as 'mass' higher education systems.

The developed countries which have this kind of system are exemplified by Japan and the US. The US has approximately 2,500 institutions offering higher education qualifications and about 58% of the 18 year olds were enrolled in college in 1975. In Japan, in 1975, there were about 400 universities enrolling about 25% of the age group. These figures in Japan are increasingly rapidly.

India and Philippines are similar examples from the developing world. Although the enrolment percentage of Indian students is only about 7% of the age group, the number of students this encompasses is about five million and hence I include it here. In numbers alone, the Indian higher education system is among the largest in the world. In Philippines, the number of institutions is close to 600, enrolling 20% of the age group.[15]

Clearly, the way these countries can operate with such high enrolment percentages is by use of private universities and colleges which enrol more than 75% of the students. The four countries differ on the subsidisation given to private universities by the government but in all four, most of the private universities are almost entirely privately funded.

One of the greatest benefits to be obtained from this kind of system, then, is the fact that the cost to the government is relatively small. At the same time, it allows rather broad access to higher education for the population and although, as in all countries, the middle classes have more than their share of places, the sheer number of places alone means that more of the lower classes have a chance of getting to university. Thus it would seem that allowing the development of a private sector, at least at the level of higher education, appears to counteract two of the criticisms levelled at the traditional-type university systems, i.e. those of

elitism and high costs.

But there are, naturally, drawbacks. All four countries have a wide range in quality in their private institutions, ranging from very good to very bad. Indeed, it is usually only a small number of the private institutions which falls into the very good classification and the majority are of a low standard both as regards teaching facilities and teaching staff. Graduates of these universities thus have greater problems in finding employment afterwards as was stated in chapter 1. Although there is some attempt in all four countries to control standards, the sheer size of the system makes this rather difficult in practice.

What then happens is that elite universities begin to develop within the mass system and these universities demand 'standards,' i.e. although generally possession of a secondary school certificate is all that is required, the better universities will set extra examinations or demand a high standard in the basic qualifications as a condition for entry.

Thus there is rather a paradox; it is beyond the economic power of a government to maintain such extensive systems without the use of private institutions but when the private institutions become numerous, the government begins to lose control over standards at the universities.[16]

Undoubtedly, the use of private universities is one way of expanding university provision at low cost to the government but again the problems associated with it make it the kind of solution governments will embark on with caution. It may, however, be a useful move for developing countries to make, considering the great importance the economic concerns have for them.

(d) Open universities The most recent development, in both the developed and the developing worlds, is to turn to the use of 'open' universities to expand higher education. Although I use the term 'open university', in reality, there is no one single kind of open university; all the examples to be referred to in succeeding sections use systems of operation which differ from each other, often quite substantially.

How then does one justify the use of the term 'open university?' This is a difficult question to answer. Experts in the field of 'open learning', while fully aware of what they mean and understand by the term, find it hard to produce a precise definition. Mackenzie et al. discuss this problem of definition and attempt to summarise some of the ideas behind open learning systems:

> "Such systems are designed to offer opportunities for part-time study, for learning at a distance and for innovations in the curriculum. They are intended to allow access to wider sections of the adult population, to enable students to compensate for lost opportunities in the past or to acquire new skills and qualifications for the future. Open Learning systems aim to redress social or educational inequality and to offer opportunities not provided by conventional colleges and universities." (17)

In the absence of clear definitions, most researchers isolate a particular group of factors which they feel characterise the institutions they are studying.[18] I, too, have followed this pattern and have isolated two factors which characterise most of the open universities I will be discussing. These are: their openness of access (offering full or part-time higher education to people who do and do not possess the usual qualifications for that country) and their use of the media in teaching. Most, but not all, involve a large amount of distance education too.

There are undoubtedly some institutions which will not fit

my two categories above but which one would want to call 'open universities' but these will be exceptions and I am interested in the norm. There will also be objections to the term 'open,' since it will be clear from succeeding sections that some of my 'open universities' seem relatively 'closed.' In a sense, there is no real 'open' university, since all institutions impose some kind of restriction on entry, by limiting numbers in some way perhaps by demanding some level of qualification. The British Open University, though not demanding academic qualifications, restricts its intake by regional and occupational quotas. But according to my definition, it is an 'open university' because it does not demand the qualifications for entry which all other British universities demand. This does not mean that people with traditional university qualifications are excluded. The whole point of 'open universities' is the fact that it is not essential to have the traditional qualifications but one is not denied a place if one has them. This, together with the use of educational technology in teaching, is what characterises an 'open university' in this thesis.

The advantages of having an open university are generally thought to be threefold. As Harris and Williams report:

"1. It provides a wider opportunity by extending the access further afield and hence moves away from elitism.

2. It provides education for the largest number at the smallest cost.

3. It provides education for the large number of people who for a variety of reasons are not able or do not want to register in a university of the traditional type but who still wish to obtain formal qualifications."[19]

Just how far each of these expectations is fulfilled by open

universities in general will be examined later in this chapter; and how far they are fulfilled by one particular institution in a developing country will be dealt with in detail throughout the rest of this thesis. Undoubtedly, if these expectations are realised, then the open university idea could be an important one for developing countries both from the point of view of costs and from that of increased access.

The cost of open universities

The reason why open universities are a less expensive form of higher education is that a high proportion of open university expenditure falls under the heading of recurrent costs, i.e. costs covering the items of continuing expenditure which are the same no matter how many students enrol, in contrast to traditional universities where direct costs, i.e. costs which vary in direct relation to the number of students catered for, are proportionately higher.[20] Thus the marginal cost of each additional open university student is much less than the existing average cost and cost-effectiveness can be considerably increased by raising the number of students.[21] In general, open university course production techniques allow them to exploit economies of scale which are denied to universities using the traditional methods.

However, since each open university system is different from the others, as far as production of materials, use of the media, etc. is concerned, and the actual costs are hard to assess, and since a comparison of costs with a traditional university is complicated, it is not possible to state in general how much benefit, as far as costs are concerned, accrues from open learning systems.

Few figures are available for any one open university because

not many have been in existence long enough to make assessment possible. One exception to this is the case of the British Open University. Wagner, while pointing out the conceptual and statistical difficulties in comparing the Open University with traditional universities from an economic point of view, found out that the Open University was different from the traditional British universities on the four comparisons made, i.e.:

1. The average recurrent cost per equivalent undergraduate in the Open University is little more than a quarter that of conventional universities.

2. The capital cost per student at the Open University is about 6% of the conventional figure.

3. The average recurrent cost per graduate would be equalised if the Open University had a drop-out rate of 85%.

4. The resource cost per equivalent undergraduate at the Open University is about one sixth that of conventional universities.[22]

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to a more detailed account of the attempts to develop open universities by looking at individual examples from both the developed and the developing worlds.

Open universities in the developed and the developing worlds.

The countries in the developed world were the first to respond to the demands for more higher education by introducing what have come to be known as open universities. The idea of open universities then spread to the developing world. Sometimes there is an almost wholesale transfer of a specific institution but more often it is the concepts that are transferred since the objectives of the universities in the Third World diverge from those in the developed

world in certain respects, as will be discussed below.

Probably the most successful and most well-known example of an open university in the West is that of the UK, which, because of its success in Britain, its well-organised set-up and its effective use of correspondence techniques, has been adopted as a model for many of the systems evolving in the Third World. The British Open University has exported techniques and materials to developed countries such as Australia, Holland, Germany and Scandinavia and has worked closely with Pakistan and Iran in setting up their own systems.[23]

Differences between open universities in the developed and the developing world.

Although all the examples quoted below share the two characteristics of open universities mentioned earlier, i.e. more openness of access and the use of educational technology, differences between institutions appear. When one examines these differences in more detail, it is clear that the open universities split into two fairly distinct groups - those of the developed and those of the developing world. Four areas of difference are isolated although it will be clear from the discussion that the divergence in each area is different in scale and in some cases, the differences seem to be being reduced.

(a) Aims and objectives The initial objectives of the British Open University can be summarised as follows:

1. to provide university education for working-class students

2. to provide a second chance for those who missed university first time round

3. to provide post-experience or refresher courses for those already at work.

4. to experiment with new teaching methods and hence reverse the traditional conservatism of the universities.[24]

Thus the British Open University is generally an institution whereby adults who have been working for some time but who have missed the chance of going to university, can study for a degree or update their knowledge. It is thus basically a high-level adult education programme and not a simple alternative route to a degree. Indeed, it was stressed in the report of the original planning committee:

> "In our view, the Open University should not set out to compete with the established Universities, which can so much more efficiently provide 'special' degrees for students who can spend three years of full-time study in the laboratories and libraries of their specialist schools. Rather should the Open University degree be complementary providing for the part-time student a broadly-based higher education for which the teaching techniques available to the Open University are particularly suitable." (25)

These kinds of aims can be seen in many other developed countries, for example the objectives of Everyman's University in Israel are:

1. to provide in-service teacher education, especially for elementary and intermediate grades.

2. to give a second chance at a university degree for disadvantaged groups with a basic curriculum of mathematics, natural sciences and Jewish studies.

3. to provide adult education by means of a range of technical and liberal arts courses.[26]

Likewise, the Centres de Télé-enseignement Universitaire in France exist to provide opportunities to study for degrees for people unable to attend as full-time students and they see these as being generally people who are already employed, housewives and those

incapacitated by illness. Furthermore, they are seen as a contribution to the éducation permanente movement in adult education.[27]

The open universities in the developed countries then, are generally institutions for adults who are already employed but may wish to take additional qualifications which they were unable to take earlier or to upgrade their technical knowledge. However, when we look at institutions in the developing countries, we can see that their aims are slightly different. For example, if we look at Iran, the Free University of Iran has the following objectives:

1. to minimise the cost of education per student while maintaining a high standard of excellence.

2. to provide the opportunity for higher education to a larger segment of the population.

3. to provide skilled manpower in the areas where shortages are most critical.[28]

Like the objectives of the open universities mentioned earlier, these objectives mention the opening of access to people who, for some reasons, are not accommodated in the traditional system. The provision of higher education for the underprivileged, those disadvantaged in some way or those with special difficulties is a concern of most countries. This also comes out in the aims of the Allama Iqbal Open University in Pakistan which include:

1. to provide educational facilities for people who cannot leave their homes and jobs.

2. to provide facilities to the people for their educational uplift.

3. to provide for instruction in such branches of learning, technology or vocations as it may deem fit and make provision for research and the advancement and dissemination of knowledge.[29]

However, none of the above examples from the developing world mentions adults specifically. Adults are obviously the main concern in the examples from the developed world. This point is further emphasised by looking at those eligible to study at the various open universities. In the UK, all applicants must be over 21; in Israel, teachers, disadvantaged Oriental Jews and Arabs, and other adults are all eligible; and in France, the target population is those whose work or disability prevents them from taking up full-time attendance. The French example is less specific on the question of age but, in fact, 82% of the students are practising teachers or surveillants (monitors), who are already employed.[30]

In Iran, on the other hand, the expected group of students is high-school graduates from 18 years old upwards and in Burma, the university education by correspondence is basically aimed at people with high school graduation certificates.[31]

Thus, a first difference between open universities in the developed and developing worlds is the target group to be served, and this is reflected in the aims and objectives of the universities.

(b) The concern with education for national development. A second difference between open universities in developed and developing countries occurs in the emphasis on training skilled manpower. This is mentioned only as a third or fourth aim in the examples quoted so far, but if we look at the background to the setting up of the various open universities, a different picture emerges.

In the developed world, the general trend is towards filling in the gaps, as it were, in higher education, i.e. given the fact that most of the relevant countries have some kind of selective system for the traditional universities and that the percentage

of students in them was always very small, it was felt that there were many other people in these countries who might now want to benefit from higher education, an opportunity which may have been denied them in the past because of lack of places or because of their own personal circumstances.

In the British case, it was observed that adult education was a growing activity in the country. The interest was shown by the number of adults enrolled in some form of evening classes, usually non-vocational in nature, provided by the extra-mural departments of the universities and other institutions, such as the Workers' Educational Association. In 1971, there were more than a quarter of a million people enrolled in such classes.[32] Many of these adults would have been born at a time when there were limited opportunities for higher education (the big expansion of higher education in Britain did not come until the 1960's) and before the Open University, there was a limited chance of their making up for this deficiency, without full-time enrolment at a traditional university. The decision to establish the Open University was made by the Government then in power, after the Robbins Report on Higher Education had said that:

> "Higher education should be available to all who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue this and want to do so." (33)

Although the number of school leavers continuing in post-secondary education was increasing, there was no great demand from the 'people' for an expansion of the universities. Nor did the Government express any need to increase high-level manpower supply. The Open University was really to fill a gap in the university system and was not in any sense a necessary contribution to 'national development'.

The situation in Israel was rather similar. When the question of another university in the mould of an open university was raised, the country had already an extensive system of higher education and other post-secondary institutions. The existing universities were able to meet the private demand and the national requirements in most fields. The setting-up of Everymen's University was a private venture, dedicated to the use of new educational technology and thus to improve the curriculum and teaching methods.[34] The idea to set up this university was accepted in principle before it had been decided what it would concentrate on.[35] Although a large part of its programme deals with the upgrading of teacher qualifications, the university itself is not primarily engaged in increasing the quantity of high-level manpower but more with providing new avenues to further education to those who want it.

However, when we turn to look at some of the open universities in the developing countries, we find different driving forces behind them. Generally, the following two factors seem to have prompted the establishnebt of open universities in the Third World:

1. the increasing number of secondary school leavers who were being denied access to higher education

2. the need for high-level skilled manpower in certain fields.

For example, Vahidi states, concerning the increasing demand in Iran:

> "The number of applicants taking the national university examinations for the academic year 1977-8 was expected to reach 3,000,000; only a small number of these could gain admittance to university." (36)

The concern with obtaining skilled manpower is also explicitly stated. Again Vahidi says of Iran:

> "The establishment of the Free University was prompted by the incapability of existing higher education institutions to meet the ever-increasing demands for skilled specialists generated by the rapid economic development of the country."[37]

Similarly, the Burmese Department of University Correspondence Courses was seen as a way to:

> "developing human resources and manpower as one of the prerequisites for raising productivity and efficiency of national production." (38)

Thus it seems that there are underlying differences in the aims of open universities in the developing countries as opposed to developed countries, mainly concerned with the role of the university in national development.

(c) Admission policies. Since one of the main characteristics of open learning systems is the fact that they are open to people who do not have the usual qualifications required for university entrance, we should expect to find no major differences between the developed and the developing worlds. And this is, in fact, the case. Each institution has to limit its student numbers in some way because of the restraints imposed by the resources available, but, given these restraints, the universities fall along a spectrum from completely open access, i.e. no formal qualifications required, for example, the British Open University or Everyman's University; to possession of a high-school leaving certificate, which seems to be the norm; to access restricted by academic merit, for example the French Centres de Télé-enseignement Universitaire which demand the baccalauréat as the traditional universities do and the Free University of Iran which began with the high school diploma qualification but has since moved to having a university entrance exam-

ination because of the large number of applicants.[39]

However, although admission policies are broadly similar, the age of admission highlights an issue which has become of recent interest to open universities. Clearly, since the main target group aimed at in developed countries is adults, the age of students at open universities in developed countries will tend to be higher than in developing countries where new secondary school leavers are encouraged to enrol.

There has been much scepticism, however, about the success of open university teaching for new secondary school leavers. Many people believe that they are not sufficiently mature to be able to handle self-study at the higher education level. However, there is only one piece of research which offers proof of this to some extent.

The British Open University has recently published a report on the success of its experimental programme for 18 year olds, carried out earlier in the 1970's. Their findings are not encouraging for those who want to use open universities for new secondary school leavers, since the report shows that the younger students were much more likely to be unsuccessful in their first year of study than the older students and, in general, dropped out in higher proportions than younger students at other kinds of higher education institutions. However, those who got through the first year went on to make as satisfactory progress in subsequent years as older students.[40]

This kind of finding is backed up by James and Arboleda in their investigation of distance teaching at university level in Colombia. They found that the older students had the most staying power although age did not correlate with academic performance.[41]

The issue of the suitability of open universities for younger

students will be investigated later in this thesis with respect to Ramkhamhaeng University, Thailand where the main target group is new secondary school graduates. Despite the findings on the performance of new secondary school leavers in open universities, proposals for new open universities seem to be suggesting that 18 year olds (or equivalent) should be one of the main target groups.

The proposals for the new Dutch Open University to be opened by 1983 suggested that the target group be 18 year olds and over[42] and discussions for a new US Open University have also been mentioning 18-21 year olds as a major group to be included.[43]

This change in the orientation of the open universities may reflect the fact that open universities are now being seen as real alternatives to traditional universities as opposed to being an 'extra,' as it were, in the system. Certainly, it seems that the developing countries are choosing to use their open universities to service school leavers and developed countries seem to be about to follow suit.

(d) The use of educational technology. As far as the use of educational media is concerned, most open universities, because they want to provide opportunities which are not available through the traditional universities, make extensive use of correspondence material and sometimes educational broadcasting, depending on the cost of this and the facilities available. Most of the institutions discussed rely heavily on the correspondence materials and supplement them with radio and television where possible and most stress the importance of contact with a tutor in a study centre, within reasonable reach of the student. Open universities which have been less successful have usually tried to concentrate exclusively or chiefly on one broadcasting medium for instruction.[44]

The most popular educational broadcasting medium for open universities, especially in the Third World, is the radio, since the coverage of transmission is usually large. The fact that many people possess or have easy access to a receiver makes the initial costs to the learner low. The radio usually supplements texts specially prepared for each course, or recommended textbooks, which are distributed to individuals by the university.

Perhaps the most one can say as a general statement on the subject of the use of the media is that the use of television is more widespread in institutions of the developed world for obvious reasons, as are the use of home experimental kits and practical equipment, for example the British Open University and Memorial University in Canada. However, some institutions rely almost entirely on correspondence, for example Iran and the external divisions of some of the Australian universities; while at least one proposed system, that of the Broadcasting University (Hoso Daigaku) of Japan, intends to concentrate very much on the use of radio.[45]

The problems of open universities

The fact that open universities were rather a radical move away from the traditional concept of a university meant that they were almost sure to encounter a number of problems. These problems occur in three distinct areas: those of academic standards, the needs of students, and the effective use of the various media.

1. Academic standards. If open universities are to be considered as institutions of the same kind as traditional universities, in the sense of being degree granting, then they must be seen to have similar academic standards and a similar quality of education.

If this is not the case, then a degree from an open university will not rank as highly as a degree from a traditional/selective university and in one sense, will not really be a 'degree' at all. If an open university degree is thus a lower qualification, then access to higher education has not really been expanded at all. All that has happened is that another level of qualification has been inserted between secondary and the 'real' tertiary level.

It is difficult to avoid a comparison of standards being made between open and selective universities, particularly when they exist side by side and the open university is an alternative route for the same age group, i.e. in countries where the open universities cater for new secondary school graduates. In countries, such as the UK and Israel, where the open universities are catering for adults, as opposed to school leavers, the need to make the direct comparison is less strong. People expect there to be differences in operation for adult/part-time learners. But even in the UK, the Open University has had difficulty in convincing the professional institutions that an Open University degree is equivalent to a specialist degree from a conventional university.[46] However, this now seems to be changing. The Open University has been in existence now for ten years and each year one in twelve British graduates is from the Open University.[47] Acceptance of the standard of the degree obtained as being equivalent to that of a traditional university is now much more widespread.[48]

The question of standards, and whether or not they are being maintained, arises because of the non-selective approach to access at the open universities. When these universities cater for new secondary school leavers, many of the students they attract will be those who have not been able to gain admission to the traditional

universities and are using the open university as a last resort. This group will thus be of a lower quality than their counterparts at the traditional universities judged on secondary school and university entrance examination performance. Others of the students, however, will have chosen to study at the open university for financial reasons or because they live far from the traditional universities. There will thus be a larger range of ability at the open universities.

However, this fact in itself does not mean that the students will not reach the same standard as those at the traditional universities. It is true that many will not; many find that the university requirements, after they have begun to study, are beyond them, and are ejected from the system. Thus, although a large number of 'unqualified' students may begin the course, only those who reach the required standards actually finish.

It is surely then fallacious to say the open universities are non-selective. They may be relatively non-selective on entry but thereafter selection does take place with the use of examinations and/or assignments for promotion to higher levels. That is, once a student has entered an open university, he is subject to similar measuring sticks to students in more traditional universities. The difference is that the first point of selection is delayed for open university students until the first assessment period. If a student fails to complete this successfully, he will either be ejected from the system or not promoted.

If the open universities then try to maintain the same kind of standards as the traditional universities, can they be said to be offering opportunities to a wider range of the population? In the end, assessment is still done on academic merit and those who

have had the best schooling and home background still have the greatest chance of obtaining a degree. One would hope, however, that even though many people may not actually finish a degree, the time they have spent studying will have been useful to them both from an academic and a non-academic point of view.

As long as academic excellence is the criterion for obtaining a degree, the open universities in maintaining 'standards' could be accused of being no less 'selective' than the traditional universities.

Furthermore, merely opening up the universities will not ensure that disadvantaged groups are any nearer even entering the higher education level than before. As Debeauvais says:

> "L'expérience du théâtre populaire a appris qu'on ne conquiert un public nouveau que sur les franges; ce sont ceux qui sont les plus preparés à profiter de l'ouverture des institutions fermées qui y accèdent et non les plus defavorisés." (49)

Crossland, however, disputes the fact that maintaining 'standards' is a practicable policy for open universities. He sees that there will be a great pressure from many sides to graduate a large number of students.[50] Otherwise it might seem rather pointless to set up these institutions in the first place. If this does happen within the open universities, then it will most certainly lead to what Cerych and Furth call a division between the 'noble' and the 'less noble' institutions.[51] Already, most countries with a sizeable university system have this kind of split; for example the high-status universities of the US; Oxford and Cambridge; the grandes écoles of France. The open universities will form a further level in this hierarchy unless they can convince others that opening access does not mean lowering standards.

The whole issue of selectivity, academic standards and open access is certainly a dilemma for open universities. On the one hand, they have to be on a par with other universities from the academic viewpoint, to justify being called universities. On the other, they may become so similar from this viewpoint to traditional universities that the differences become rather nominal. Clearly a major problem arises from the wide disparity of ability amongst the entering students. Since the qualifications for entry to open universities are lower than for traditional universities, the student on entry may have a lower level of knowledge than his counterpart at a traditional university. It may be possible to provide some introductory courses on a pre-university level but in the end the students must reach accepted university levels. Clearly, the quality of education lower down the educational system is important here, especially if the open university entrants are new secondary school leavers. Inequalities in provision of secondary schooling between rural and urban districts etc. may place a burden on the open universities if their students are drawn largely from the 'disadvantaged' groups. Open universities cannot, however, be expected to resolve the differences. But one hopes that methods of operation will evolve which will help to alleviate these inequalities.

If the open universities are to provide a real chance for a degree to those whose education at a lower level has not brought them up to traditional university entrance standard, it is important that the design and structure of courses should be carried out with this in mind. Clearly it would be simple to adopt a system similar to a traditional university but this would mean allowing a large number of the 'disadvantaged' students to fail early on. The alternative may be to lower standards in the first year or years

to allow students a chance to adapt themselves and continue with their studying. This may in the end mean longer courses than at traditional universities but some such compromise solution must be arrived at if the two objectives of opening access and maintaining standards are to be achieved.

2. The needs of students. The situation of students at open universities, particularly if they are studying by correspondence, is rather different from that of the traditional student. Home study requires a great deal of self-discipline, especially if the student is also working and/or has domestic responsibilities. In developing countries, in particular, it is often difficult for students to find a quiet place for studying, since often the immediate family is large and there may be others of the extended family who live in the same household. Students at traditional universities have ready access to libraries which provide studying facilities and, of course, books in numbers and covering a range of subjects which the home student could not be expected to buy.

A second problem for the distance learner is the lack of contact, both with academic staff for consultation and advice, and with other students. Contact with these people in the academic environment can be both a stimulation and a morale-booster and can provide motivation for the studying itself. The correspondence student is unlikely to have this kind of contact in his home environment .

A further difficulty may arise, particularly in developing countries but also in developed countries, with the handling of correspondence materials and the kind of learning habits students have developed earlier in their educational careers. If the primary and secondary schools stress very formalised teaching systems, students may be at a loss when faced with the task of learning by

themselves. This is another reason why contact with staff may be of great importance.

Entwistle says that learning in total isolation seems impossible; the student needs to be able to test out his ideas on a tutor or at least other students. He says that the research suggests that methods used in distance teaching should allow the students opportunities for regular assessment of their progress to maintain motivation and that personalised comment on specific aspects of their work is also important.[52]

Unfortunately, to provide this kind of contact is a rather costly and complicated venture. The Open University of the UK in 1973, allocated 27% of its total budget to student services, including maintaining 250 local centres and employing over 5,000 part-time and full-time tutors. However, some of the Open University students appear to make little use of such facilities, nor is there yet any evidence of causality between use of the centres and examination results.[53] This would seem to run counter to Entwistle's ideas above.

Most other open universities do not operate such a large extension service; for example, the Free University of Iran intends to introduce local centres but is rather cautious about implementing this intention because of the costs involved.[54] Other institutions likewise offer little contact. The university distance learning centres in France provide very little but students manage fairly well with only the course material and radio lectures. The Schramm report advised Everyman's University in Israel to concentrate on developing courses for individual study rather than establishing a network of tutorial centres.[55] Clearly there is a disagreement amongst the experts on the necessity of personalised contact between

staff and students or indeed on any kind of contact. This is an area which requires much more research.

But if tutorial services are found to be necessary, then the open universities must be prepared to provide them, otherwise they are not giving a real chance to their students. The kind of needs of the open university students will vary from country to country depending on the background of the students and the already existing facilities in the community but it should be the responsibility of the university to investigate and provide for these needs if the open universities are to make a useful contribution to the higher education system and the individual. My own research will attempt to investigate this issue since there are clearly a variety of opinions and research results on this topic.

3. The use of the media. There are no magic formulae which can decide which media should be used, for which courses and in what proportions.

Print material is the most familiar to the open university student as a medium of education. It allows the student to work at his own pace and to cover topics more than once if he desires. However, the writing of materials for a variety of students with a variety of experience and knowledge is a difficult and skilled task. It requires the employment of writers and teachers who understand the needs of the students and the advantages and limitations of the written word. If the media are to be used in conjunction with the print materials, a great deal of coordination is needed between the text-writers, the programme and film writers, the producers of the programmes and the broadcasting companies. This kind of expertise takes some time to develop and build up. But since the open universities depend on distributed materials, the quality of this

part of the institution must lie at the heart of the effectiveness and success of an open university. And if print materials are to be extensively used, the efficiency of the postal system also has a vital role to play.

The broadcasting media can also be effective media of instruction, from the point of view both of explaining concepts and of demonstrating techniques. Furthermore, they may tend to reduce the 'studying in a vacuum' feeling some students have, by making them feel more in contact with an institution or an organisation. Again, however, much depends on the efficiency of the broadcasting units and the coordination between the broadcasters and the writers of the print course materials.

Naficy, in writing about the use of the media at the Free University of Iran, points out that little practical help can be obtained from the research into broadcast media carried out so far. He sees several reasons which account for this and although he is talking about Iran specifically, the issues raised are relevant to other countries too, especially other developing countries. His reasons are:

"1. Almost all available media research is carried out in very specific social contexts, thus making their applicability to other situations such as the Free University of Iran somewhat dubious.

2. The research methodologies have often been fraught with major weaknesses including:

(a) the use of incorrect or insufficient evaluation techniques.

(b) an over-reliance on comparative studies of teaching by one medium - of the same material - with that of another medium.

(c) attempts to try to isolate the impact of one medium from all the other media and influences.

(d) failure to come up with practical solutions and guidelines for the producers and teachers who use media as part of their teaching system.

3. Not enough is known about the effects of broadcast media and how they should be integrated with other media used by a multi-media teaching system.

4. No substantive agreement exists regarding the kind (if any) of learning that takes place using media."[56]

This account of the limitations of research on the broadcast media in education was upheld at the International Conference on Evaluation and Research on Educational Television and Radio in 1976. Morgan summarises by saying, in the end, the lack of research findings means that pragmatic considerations take precedence over the theoretical in determining the production and use of educational media.[57]

The use of the media, when little research has contributed to our knowledge of its effectiveness and the absence of any quick feedback to what is being delivered to the students make it essential that at least some kind of evaluation of the teaching techniques occurs regularly. Are the media being used in the best proportions? Is the high-drop-out rate in distance education due to the inadequacy of the teaching methods? Is there a tendency for the students to learn the material sent to them by heart since there is little chance to discuss ideas with other people? Are the students actually making use of the broadcast material? These kinds of questions must be asked and the answers acted upon so that the modifications to the teaching system can be accomplished to the benefit of the

students.

There are clearly many issues still to be resolved in the organisation of open universities and there is as yet little research on most of them, or on open universities as a whole, apart from the British Open University itself. My own research will try to deal with some of these issues and the last section of this chapter explains how I intend to make use of the information and the unanswered questions, to investigate one particular open university in a developing country.

An outline of the issues to be discussed in the thesis.

I will approach this thesis by trying to answer six questions related to the theoretical ideas and the philosophy of open universities. They will all be tackled with respect to one particular institution, Ramkhamhaeng University in Thailand but where possible, generalisations will be attempted in an effort to discuss the theoretical points involved.

Firstly, I shall try to assess how realistic the first of the three reasons stated earlier for setting up open universities is, i.e.:

1. Do open universities offer expanded access to a wider range of the population or are the sceptics right in saying that educational expansion tends to open access to more of the same kind of people as are already present in the higher education system?

The move to open universities came about partly in response to criticisms of inequality levelled at traditional universities. The open universities have more open methods of access encompassing both new school leavers and other groups who may have been denied university education earlier. This leads on to the second issue

to be raised:

2. Do open universities provide a real chance for those who did not get or do not get to traditional universities, i.e. once enrolled in university, how successful are the different kinds of groups in obtaining a degree? The answer to this question leads to subsidiary questions. If we find that, even though entrants may come from a wider spectrum of backgrounds, those who graduate are very similar to graduates of traditional universities on personal and educational background factors, then this means that the 'disadvantaged' groups aimed at are largely dropping out.

If these groups are largely dropping out, one must then attempt to answer the question why? Is it because they are inherently incapable of studying at university level; is it because their level of educational development is not high enough for university study to be possible because of low quality secondary education; or is it because there are social, economic or personal difficulties involved in their taking up university education? Can anything be done to resolve these problems?

A third issue related to access is that of the presence of younger students at open universities. Again, there is much scepticism about their ability to profit from open university learning, so the third question will be:

3. How successful are open universities at teaching new secondary school leavers?

A major problem discussed earlier for open universities is in the choice and use of media. I will thus try to answer the question:

4. How successful is the use of the media in open universities and where do the major problems lie for students in developing countries?

All of these issues lead to my fifth question, that of academic standards. I will try to assess:

5. How do open universities stand up when compared with traditional universities from an academic point of view?

This question will relate to other issues of graduate employment and contributions to national development in developing countries also.

The sixth issue, given less importance, will be costs, i.e.:

6. Are open universities justified on the basis of economy from the government's point of view?

Clearly, all of my findings will be very specific to the Thai situation but I hope that some of my findings will also throw some light on the idea of using open universities as an approach to higher education expansion generally, in developing countries.

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Chapter 3. Thailand: the background

Thailand from the 13th century to 1932.

The founding of Thailand as a kingdom in its own right dates back to the 13th century, to the time known as the Sukhothai period. Until this time, the people who later became Thai lived further north in Yunnan, in China,but with the advance of the Mongol Empire, these people were slowly forced to move southwards and settle in the valleys of the Chao Phraya and the Mekong Rivers, usually as separate units in conflict with each other. It was not until 1210 that the people were at least loosely united under one overlord, King Sri Indrathit, whom modern Thailand regards as its first king. The Sukhothai period lasted for 140 years and, during this time, King Ramkhamhaeng ranks as the most important king, since it was he who devised the script for the Thai language which has been used until the present, and who recorded Thai history on stone tablets.

The factionalism inherent in such a loosely-bound kingdom meant that, when Ramkhamhaeng died, the city of Sukhothai began to decline in importance and the city of Ayutthaya began to flourish under a different line of rule. The Ayutthaya period (from 1350-1767) was characterised by a series of continuing struggles between the Thai kingdom and its neighbours, notably the Khmers and the Burmese. But this was also the time when Thailand first established contact with the West, through Phaulkon, a Greek with ties with the French court, who succeeded in gaining influence at the Thai court. This first contact with the West was not a happy one, since the West was interested in gaining a colonial foothold in Thailand, from the point of view of religion and for purposes of trade. The Thais were not unaware of this, however, and when the King, Phaul-

kon's protector, fell ill, a royal coup ousted him and reasserted the independence of the country, effectively shutting off Thailand from the Western world for almost 200 years.

The Ayutthaya period ended in 1767 with the plundering of the city by the Burmese but although the city was destroyed, the Thai people were not and a counter-attack by one of the generals fought off the Burmese and brought General Taksin to the throne. The capital was moved to Thonburi, now Bangkok's sister city on the other side of the Chao Phraya, being moved for the last time in 1782 to Bangkok. General Taksin himself did not reign long but, suffering delusions of grandeur, was overthrown by one of his generals, Chakri, who claimed the throne for himself and had Taksin removed to a monastery as insane and later executed.

Thus began the reign of the Chakri dynasty and this line has continued down to the present, the reigning monarch, King Bhumipol, being the ninth of the Chakri kings, known as Rama IX.

Although the kings and the governments changed with unnerving frequency during this time, one stable and unifying force remained throughout - the Buddhist religion. Buddhism has long played an important part in Thai life and still does today and until the middle of last century, it had a subsidiary function, that of education. From the beginning of the Sukhothai period, the temples were the centres of learning, both from the point of view of the monks who devoted their lives to meditation and the studying of the Pali scripts and of those who spent shorter periods in the wats(temples), as it was the custom for every male to do at least once (as it still is today). These periods of ordination were when people learned basic skills such as reading and writing but they spent only short periods in the wats and the education was in no sense formalised; it was

really only the monks who could be said to be educated. It was not until the reign of King Rama IV, from 1851-1868, that this began to change and the modernisation programme that he visualised heralded in a reform period in education.

King Rama IV is better known to the West as King Mongkut, who was immortalised, if rather incorrectly, in 'The King and I.' King Mongkut had spent thirty years in the monkhood before he succeeded to the throne but this in no way narrowed his vision. He emerged from the cloistered state with a clear vision of what Siam, as Thailand was then known to the West, would have to do to survive in the modern world. He himself had studied English under American missionaries and employed foreign tutors for his own children and the other royal offspring so as to expand their view of the world. His reign coincided with an expansionist period of the Western colonial powers who were attempting to lay claim to the countries of mainland South-east Asia. In fact, Siam was the only country which survived the Western onslaught, though at the cost of giving up some of its territory and this was due largely to the skill of King Mongkut and his son, King Chulalongkorn, who reigned after him. Their diplomatic manoeuvrings, playing off the British, the French and the Dutch against each other, meant that they were able to take advantage of what the West had to offer, without succumbing to the colonial regime that went with it.

Thus these days of absolute monarchy were also the days of foreign experts and advisers. As quoted in Insor:

> "At the head of the corps of advisers stood the General Adviser who was always American. There was a succession of Financial and Judicial Advisers, all of them British, and British advisers to Customs, a British Director of Inland Revenue and a British head of the Bangkok Police. Most of the foreign

> instructors at the Ministry of Education were British, and there were British experts in Survey and Irrigation.
>
> Danish officers were attached to the gendarmerie, and at one time served in the Navy. The post of Legislative Adviser was always held by a Frenchman, and there was a Legislative Commission composed of French experts, whose duty it was to draw up a series of Legal Codes. Bangkok City Engineers were usually French, Italians were employed, however, in Public Works. Germans were attached to the Northern Railways, Britons and some Italians to the South. Germans for a time ran Posts and Telegraphs."[1]

The great period of educational reform occurred during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910).[2] He was not only concerned with the setting-up of schools and standards for these schools in Bangkok, firstly for the nobility, but also in extending educational provision in the provinces, by incorporating more formal teaching into the existing system of monastic education and using the monks as teachers. His interest in educational reform was hastened by his discovery, on a visit to Britain, that Thai students sent abroad to complete their education in the universities of Europe often took seven or eight years to graduate, since they usually had to enter secondary schools first in order to reach the required university standards.

On his return to Thailand, he initiated a programme, on the advice of his advisers, to modernise the educational system and bring it up to the standards of the schools of Europe.[3] This led to the setting-up of the Royal Pages School in 1902 to train people for Government service and this became the Civil Servants School in 1910. Thailand's first university was established in 1917 by royal decree, drawing together the Medical School, the Civil Servants School and a recently established Engineering School. In honour of the King, who was by then dead, it was named Chulalongkorn

University.

1932-1973

Paradoxically, it was the promotion of education by King Rama IV and King Rama V that led, in 1932, to the revolt against the monarchy. The leaders of the revolution could be termed the intellectuals whose educational training showed them the outdatedness of the absolute monarchy, which they saw was holding the country back from developing. Thus, with the support of the military, they obliged the King to give up much of his power and control, and become a constitutional monarch, rather in the manner of the British monarchy. The revolution was bloodless; the King stepped down and democracy was the byword of the nationalists.

However, the hoped-for democracy never materialised. The new rulers were as jealous of their powers as they thought the Kings had been. Although fired by nationalism, they tried to impose it on the people, without allowing them a say in what was to be accomplished or how. Naturally enough, factionalism developed within the power elite so that as Williams says:

> "Thai political history during the initial twenty -five years of constitutional monarchy was one of coups, some abortive, some victorious, all staged by a familiar cast with the principal actors engaged in a dreary minuet of transferring premierships, while the public watched in apathy."[4]

Despite the fact that there were eighteen changes of Government in this forty year period, the educational policies seemed to alter little.[5] The Government remained committed to the ideal of universal primary education and to the expansion of secondary and higher education. Four years of compulsory primary education was introduced in 1921 as an objective to be aimed for[6] but this was

an unreasonable hope for many years. The Karachi Plan of 1960 gave Thailand a more realisable target and they intend to have complete universal primary education by 1987.

The higher education system has probably undergone the most rapid changes since the revolution of 1932. The democratic ideals expressed at this time made it imperative that a second university be opened. This happened in 1933, when the University of Moral and Political Sciences was established as an open access university. This university later changed its name (to Thammasat) but more importantly its form in that, in 1960, the university became a selective institution following the tradition of the other higher education institutions which had since grown up.

The 1940's saw the further expansion of the university system by the establishment of the University of Medical Sciences (later to become Mahidol University) in 1942, and Kasetsart University (Agriculture) and Silpakorn University (Fine Arts) in 1943.

From the end of the Second World War until 1973, Thailand was ruled by a succession of military govenrments. The brief experiment with democracy had not succeeded well and the military saw the chance to take control. It was not until 1958 that any semblance of stability came to the Thai Government with the rise to power of Marshal Sarit and his second-in-command, Thanom. This combination, with the later addition of a third, Marshal Prapas, after the death of Sarit, ruled the country for fifteen years, which allowed for the first time some sort of national planning to take place. Whatever else may be said about the Sarit-Thanom-Prapas regime, it is true that higher education did not suffer. It was during these fifteen years that some sort of coordination was brought to the system, with the setting-up of the National Education Council and the bringing

of the universities under the supervision and responsibility of the Office of the Prime Minister.[8]

It was during this time also that three regional universities were set up as part of a decentralisation programme, Chieng Mai University in the North in 1964, Khon Kaen University in the North-east as part of the regional development programme for the poorest of the Thai regions in 1965 and Prince of Songkla University in the South during the same period. King Mongkut's Institute of Technology was established in 1971 and the following year saw the opening of Thailand's open admissions university, Ramkhamhaeng. So the fifteen years of strong military rule were also the years of vast expansion in the higher education system.

1973-1980

Strong though the military regime was, it could not last for ever and 1973 ushered in a new era in Thai politics with the emergence of the students as a political force to be reckoned with. The root of the trouble, which culminated in the overthrow of the government in 1973, stems from the excesses of the Sarit regime which engaged in a policy of rounding up anyone with political views which conflicted with those of the Government and imprisoning them with out trial. This was continued by the Thanom-Prapas regime of 1963-1973 and the dissent against this was fanned by students returning from Europe, the United States and Japan, where student revolutionary activity was at its highest, with a more militant outlook and prepared to oppose the government in a real sense. Disaffection led to the establishment of the National Student Centre of Thailand in 1970, a radical left-wing group, socialist in outlook and strongly opposed to the military government.[9]

From the end of 1972 onwards, student activity was directed towards restructuring the Thai political process. The students demonstrated in June, 1973 against the expulsion of nine students from Ramkhamhaeng University for a piece of political satire they had written, and won a victory. The stage was set for the bloody confrontation of October of the same year.[10]

The actual conditions which precipitated the revolution - begun by the students but backed by the ordinary people - were things such as rampant inflation, corruption in the Government, the concern over the US influence in Thailand, particularly the military bases which were used to launch attacks on Vietnam and so on.[11] The Government did not seem to understand the seriousness of the discontent and proceeded to arrest some students on charges of plotting the overthrow of the Government.[12] This was the match to the fire and the students took to the streets. The ensuing battles left hundreds dead but sent the Army and the police into retreat and the Government fell. A civilian government was appointed by the King, elections were held soon afterwards and it seemed that the ideals of democracy had returned.

However, the civilian government which came to power, headed by Kukrit Pramoj, was also doomed to failure. Kukrit proceeded with a policy of extricating Thailand from the mess of the Vietnem War and the influence of the United States. His policies were not acceptable to the military leaders, who, however, did not have enough political power to exert some influence in the affair. Thev did, however, work behind the scenes supporting the Democratic Party against the Kukrit Government. The people were still fired with the enthusiasm which the 1973 revolution had produced and began to organise themselves into trade unions and cooperatives to demand fair

prices and fairer distribution of land from the Government. The Government was brought down when it seemed it did not want to meet the people's demands and the call to resign was heavily backed by the military.

More elections took place but mounting rightist violence made them more of a formality than a demonstration of electoral choice. The people lapsed into apathy and a reactionary government without firm leadership was returned.[13] It was clear that this Government would not last long and their inability to stand up to the return of Thanom from exile abroad precipitated another confrontation in October, 1976, only a few months after they had been elected to power.

The students again were roused to demonstrate against the Government's inability to handle the situation. Again a bloody encounter ensued, leaving one hundred students dead and brutally massacred. This was a sign for the military to resume control. The military government which took over lasted only a year when a second military coup brought the present Government to power headed by General Kriangsak (and later by General Prem). His two years in office restored some semblance of normality to the political scene but many students and other activists have left the political arena and have gone underground to work with the Communists in what are termed the 'liberated areas.'

This rise to power of the student groups has been an important development in Thai history and has implications for the expansion of higher education. The governments must now be well aware of the power an organised student group can wield and so it must be rather tentatively that they have embarked on a plan to expand the size of the student body. This expansion will be dealt with in the suc-

ceeding chapters, but it would be useful to conclude this chapter with a summary of the political and social situation in Thailand today.

The present Thai situation

Thailand, with a population of approximately 48 million, is predominantly agricultural. Table 3.1 below indicates the distribution of employment on 1970 figures.

Table 3.1. Distribution of economically active population by economic sector, 1970

	000's	% of total	% female
Agriculture	13,202	79.3	49.7
Mining and quarrying	87	0.5	26.6
Manufacturing	683	4.1	45.7
Construction	182	1.1	14.2
Electricity, water supply	25	0.2	12.8
Transport, communications	268	1.6	6.0
Commerce	876	5.3	53.4
Services	1,184	7.1	36.3
Unknown	145	0.8	26.9
Total	16,652	100.0	47.2

Source: UNESCO, Thailand, Education: towards equalisation and reform, (Paris, 1976), part II, p.1.

The agricultural sector accounts for almost 80% of the employment and for 30% of the Gross Domestic Product, while manufacturing accounts for under 5% of the employment.[14] This concentration on agriculture means that the urban population is relatively small.

Ten per cent of the population live in Bangkok, which has a population of about 4.5 million. The next largest city is Chieng Mai in the North with a population of approximately 100,000. The lack of urbanisation means that there is a very large rural-urban split. Life in the provinces has not kept pace with the progressiveness of the capital and the fact that more and more of the rural youth are leaving their homes to seek employment or higher education in Bangkok is slowly widening the gap.

The population of the country is fairly homogeneous, most of the people being Thai. The principal minority groups are an estimated three million Chinese who are found mainly in the towns and cities and are becoming more and more integrated with Thai society, and about 800,000 Malay-speaking Moslems in the South, who are not well integrated and do not want to be. Furthermore, there are about 300,000 hill-tribe peoples living in the North and varyingly estimated numbers of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees from the recent and more distant wars in the neighbouring countries.[15]

Ninety-five per cent of the people are Buddhist although complete freedom of religious expression is allowed and discrimination on religious grounds is forbidden.[16] The national language is Thai of which various dialects are spoken throughout the country. There are perhaps six of these spoken in different regions, though they are reasonably mutually comprehensible. The standard Thai, Bangkok Thai, is the one developed in written form by King Ramkhamhaeng and this is used as the medium of instruction throughout the whole educational system.

The monarchy, in its diluted form, is still a powerful unifying force for the people, the present King having reigned since 1946. The importance of the King can be seen by the fact that the under-

ground Communist forces in the country, broadcasting on 'Voice of the People' radio, have been reluctant to challenge the King directly until very recently. He has usually been referred to indirectly as one of the 'great feudalists and landowners' but since his involvement in the October 1976 coup, they have felt more confident about naming him in person.[17] There is an old astrological prediction that says that the Chakri dynasty will end after the ninth king[18] but whether this heralds the rise of a Communist Thailand or merely a change in the royal line is only speculation.

The place of education in Thai society

> "From ancient times until the recent past, the chief purpose of education in Thailand has been to study the virtuous life and how to attain it. Such an education has involved teaching youths to read and write and how to shape their characters according to Buddhist moral precepts. However, in a series of five-year national-development programs that have guided the nation's destiny over the past two decades, a new prime purpose has been fashioned. This new aim pictures education as a key instrument for achieving socioeconomic and political progress in a complex modern world. Thus Thailand's educational planners face the task of reforming educational practices in a way that suits both national- development goals and the traditions of a society which has prized goodness over material wealth and has regarded knowledge as a desirable end in itself rather than as a vocational tool." (19)

This reorientation towards education from the governments has brought with it new attitudes towards education in the population. Schooling is no longer seen as an opportunity for self-development and self-actualisation but rather as a means of achieving higher status in the social structure. Thus learning itself is not as important as the receiving of a certificate, since this is the passport to higher status.[20]

Most children now manage at least four years of the six year

primary education. Secondary education, now in two cycles of three years each, is achieved by approximately 20% of the age-group. The original system divided the secondary education stream into two, a vocational and an academic one. However, as commonly happens, the vocational stream was always seen as second class so that the recent reforms called for the comprehensivisation of the secondary schools to form a unified but diversified system leading either to university education or to employment in a skilled occupation.[21] Higher education is the ultimate objective of almost every student entering secondary school. As a result, secondary school programmes are distorted to cater for this purpose, largely ignoring the actual needs of the economy for middle-level manpower.[22]

The fact that the country is mainly agricultural has meant that channels of social mobility have been rather limited. The traditional path has been through obtaining a post in Government service and more recently by obtaining a degree which will lead to employment with a private firm or better still an international organisation. In Pre-Constitution days, government was the only avenue to higher social status and, although additional channels have developed in recent years, government service is still a favourite and within the bureaucracy, opportunities for obtaining higher status have been increased by the great proliferation of government functions, agencies and jobs since 1932. In Bangkok, over 25% of the employed labour force is engaged in government service at various levels, including appointments at universities and schools.[23]

Government service is a status occupation and is the aim of many higher education graduates even though the salary offered is not as high as in private companies.[24] Whatever the occupational end in view, the degree has become the symbol of success. The possession

of a foreign degree is even better according to Sasidhorn[25] and this is backed up by Blaug who found that this was associated with an increase in earnings of more than 2,000 baht per month. (20 baht is equal to $1).[26]

The concern with higher education and the demand from the people for the expansion of higher education is not difficult to understand. However, the extent and the kind of expansion has brought with it many problems and the rest of this thesis will concentrate mainly on the developments in the higher education system in the last ten years.

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Chapter 4. Higher education in Thailand

The role of the university

The role of the university in Thailand has been evolving since the first university was established. The original aim in setting up a university was to train people for Government service. Indeed, when Chulalongkorn University was established in 1917, it was an amalgamation of a number of already existing institutions, one of which was the Civil Servants School. This aim has not entirely disappeared, since the public sector, until recently, employed annually 60% of all university graduates.[1] As the country has developed, the universities, as in most countries, have come to be seen more generally as the training grounds for the high-level manpower needed for national development.

The importance of manpower training to the universities is emphasised by the National Economic and Social Development Plans over the last fifteen years. The Second Plan (1967-71) declared:

> "Higher education will be expanded in the fields necessary for economic and social needs of the country. High-level manpower is needed in the following areas: engineering, agriculture, medicine, and sciences." (2)

This emphasis continued in the Third Plan (1972-76), which stated as one of its aims:

> "to improve and promote the fields necessary for economic and social requirements of the country." (3)

The present Plan (1977-81) continued to stress the need for manpower for national development as:

> "to improve and promote education in the field required by market demand and necessary for national development."[4]

Theoretically, all of the last three Plans have been concerned

with encouraging particularly technical and agricultural education. The Second Plan concentrated on increasing the number of students in scientific and technical fields[5] and the Third Plan on agriculture and technology, making special loans to Kasetsart University and King Mongkut's Institute of Technology to improve their training and teaching facilities.[6]

However, in practice, most of this has not materialised. The closed universities, i.e. those with selective entry policies and limited numbers of students, have not been able to increase their annual intake to any extent and, due to lack of equipment, particularly modern equipment, and lack of trained personnel, have not been able substantially to alter the kind of courses they teach. Even the technical courses are still very theoretically based and have been accused of bearing little relationship to the real world.[7]

The faults, when looked for, seem to lie with almost all units concerned with the planning and the carrying out of the Plans. The Office of University Affairs blames the Government in general, and the various Ministries concerned with education and the universities; the Government for not allocating the money which was promised to the universities and for failing to take into account rising costs; the various Ministries for not co-ordinating their work plans; and the universities for not having units to deal specifically with the aims of the Plans. The general impression is one of a large number of discrete units all working individually, with no one unit taking any notice of what other units are doing or saying what they want to do.

Faults too arise from the structure and the content of the curriculum at primary and secondary levels of education. However, a discussion of the problems at these levels is outside the scope of this thesis. Reference should be made to other sources for more

information.[8]

The Fourth Educational Development Plan appears to be achieving no greater success. Specific targets have been set for increasing the intake of all the universities but already the universities have fallen behind in this. The one exception is Ramkhamhaeng University, where the total projected increase in intake for the complete five-year period was already surpassed in the first year of the Plan.

There is also a mismatch between the kind of graduates produced and the kind of employment available to them. (See the section on graduate employment later in this chapter). This is a problem recognised by both the National Economic and Social Development Board and the Office of University Affairs (OUA) but the OUA says that the universities have a further function to serve besides training high-level manpower and that is to satisfy a social demand for higher education. The difficulty, as they see it, is to balance off these two functions of the system. At present, they are attempting to tie the enrolments of the closed universities to the country's manpower requirements while at the same time allowing the open universities to play the role of 'social demand satisfiers.' The size of the imbalance between these two will become clear in the chapters following which are concerned specifically with Ramkhamhaeng University, Thailand's open admissions university.

The administration and financing of the universities

All government universities are established by a separate Act of Parliament and fall under the jurisdiction of the Office of University Affairs (OUA), which has the status of a Ministry, and each university has the status of a Government Department. The OUA is the body which co-ordinates relations between the universities and the Government in four major areas:

1. planning and policy-making for the universities
2. academic matters, i.e. setting the standards and approving the curriculum
3. financial matters, i.e. recommending budget allocations
4. personnel administration.

But besides having its own personal Ministry, the university system is also closely tied to four other Government agencies: the Budget Bureau, the National Economic and Social Development Board and the Office of the National Education Commission, all of which vet the annual budget of each university; and the University Civil Service Commission, which is involved in the appointment and promotion of academic staff.[9]

This close tying of the universities to Government means that they have little autonomy and are relatively inflexible in their internal operations. The many bureaucratic regulations associated with Government in general means that the universities are slow to change and can take little initiative in reform, either of the structure of the university or of the curriculum.

Internally, each university is governed by a Council which is composed both of people external to the university and of the university's own administrators, the latter group being in the majority. Under the Council, the Rector is the chief executive officer. Thereafter, responsibility is distributed through Deans of Faculties, Department Heads and so on. The academic staff elect some of their members to the University Senate, which is an advisory and consultative body to the Rector. The students' part is very limited, its extent tending to reflect the type of government in power. But their influence does not proceed beyond the student union, at present illegal, and other student organisations. At present, the students are allowed only organisations for sporting, academic or cultural

purposes.[10]

The universities derive their income from two sources:

(a) Government Central Budget

(b) from their own internal revenue.

The Government Budget provides by far the larger proportion; in 1975, this was 88% of their total income.[11] The Government spending on higher education represents about 3% of the National Budget.[12]

Table 4.1 below indicates the Budget allocation of each university in the last two National Economic and Social Development Plans.

Table 4.1. Government Budget allocation to each university, 1972-81 (millions of baht)

Institution	1972-76	1977-81
Chulalongkorn	766.41	1946.17
Kasetsart	479.45	1035.39
Khon Kaen	389.17	992.37
Chieng Mai	701.13	1417.38
Thammasat	222.23	576.60
Mahidol	1363.57	3097.97
Ramkhamhaeng	125.00	426.92
Silpakorn	154.03	325.83
Sri Nakharinwirot	-	834.62
Prince of Songkla	545.35	748.61
King Mongkut's Institute	116.50	540.85

Source: Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Education, Third National Economic and Social Development Plan, 1972-76, Section 16 - Education, in The history of Thai education, (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1974), p.134-38.
Office of University Affairs, Fourth Higher Education Development Plan, 1977-81, (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1977), p.206.

The Government allocates the Budget according to each univer-

Table 4.2. Non-government sources of income for all universities, 1976. (millions of baht)

Institution	Fees	Subsidies and Donations	Land and Building Rent	Other	Total
Chulalongkorn	18,558,443	3,746,083	71,690,000	6,477,907	100,490,433
Kasetsart	6,971,430	583,621	56,755	3,311,477	10,923,283
Khon Kaen	3,948,846	235,364	18,990	279,369	4,482,569
Chieng Mai	13,755,590	140,970	87,650	1,064,461	15,048,671
Thammasat	10,468,628	669,126	93,750	3,721,142	14,952,646
Mahidol	2,937,000	357,286	-	1,042,742	4,337,028
Ramkhamhaeng	101,470,915	-	282,070	5,063,646	106,816,631
Sri Nakharin	26,709,324	30,000	34,800	343,996	27,118,120
Silpakorn	3,210,620	20,000	10,000	92,913	3,333,533
Songkla	2,732,457	516,875	4,123	510,936	3,764,391
KMIT	8,741,262	46,940	720	3,492,058	12,280,980

Note: Fees include fees for studying, registration fees, credit and transfer fees, graduation fees and dormitory fees.

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of Higher education, 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.342-3.

sity's requirements, taking into consideration the other sources of income of the universities also; for example, Mahidol University gets a high allocation since the cost of its equipment is high and the income of the university low; Ramkhamhaeng University gets a low allocation because it deals mainly with social science subjects and derives a large income from student fees due to the large number of students enrolled. Table 4.2 shows the income of each university in 1976 derived from sources other than the Government Budget.

Table 4.3 indicates how the money from both sources is spent by the universities.

Table 4.3. Types of expenditure for all universities from both sources of income, 1975. (millions of baht).

Type of expenditure	From central Budget	%	From internal revenue	%
Salaries	530,591,900	35.8	28,873,400	6.3
Permanent wages	77,328,700	5.2	4,585,000	1.0
Temporary wages	27,076,500	1.8	8,710,300	2.0
Remuneration	35,927,000	2.4	11,654,300	2.6
Ordinary expenses	56,466,600	3.8	7,569,100	1.7
Materials and supplies	153,968,800	10.4	5,408,500	1.2
Equipment	111,852,600	7.6	63,647,800	14.2
Lands and Buildings	391,702,600	26.4	271,559,200	60.6
Subsidies	71,398,700	4.8	211,694,200	4.9
Other expenses	26,234,100	1.8	24,660,700	5.5

Sources: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.13.
Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1976, (Bangkok, 1978), p.251.

Notice the large percentage of the Government allocation which is spent on salaries of various kinds and the large percentage of the universities' own revenue which goes on building.

One of the complaints about the higher education system is the cost to the Government. Table 4.4 below indicates the cost of the universities relative to other levels of education.

Table 4.4. Educational finance, 1975.

Level	Recurrent cost per student (baht)	Distribution of recurrent educational expenditure (%)
Primary	650	63.8
Secondary (general)	1,100	7.3
Vocational	3,700	10.2
Teacher training	2,700	
Universities	4,500[a] - 52,000[b]	11.5
Grants to private schools		3.8
Administration		3.1
Other		0.3

Notes: a social sciences
b medicine

Source: UNESCO, Thailand, Education: towards equalisation and reform, (Paris, 1976), p.iii-iv.

At present, in general, students pay only 8-10% of the per capita expenses in higher education.[13] The average cost/student in 1975 was approximately $321 but the costs vary from course to course and university to university depending on the numbers enrolled.[14] Students on average pay about 500 baht (approximately $25) per semester to take 18 units at traditional universities.[15] This is approximately the monthly wage of an agricultural worker. Table 4.5

below indicates what the average income of various broad occupational groupings was in 1976. About 80% of the population is employed on the land.

Table 4.5. Income per worker by main occupations in 1976.

Occupation (by sector)	Annual income of worker (baht)
Agriculture	7,113
Industry	44,215
Commerce	70,389
Services	32,665

Source: National Economic and Social Development Board, The Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan, (1977-81), (Bangkok), p.88.

If higher education is to be accessible to the working classes then, it would not be feasible to increase the tuition fees for students. It must be remembered that the 500 baht quoted earlier covers only the tuition fees. Other expenses such as accommodation, food, clothing, etc. add greatly to the cost for any student. Suggestions were put forward in 1974 for a system of student loans to compensate for a proposed rise in fees.[16] But so far neither of these proposals has been implemented.

University admissions

Before 1962, each university conducted its own entrance examination and potential students applied for and sat the separate examinations for each of their own particular choices. This led to duplication on a large scale and so, to coordinate and increase the efficiency of the system, the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination (JHEES) was introduced for the academic year 1962-3.

Candidates apply to take the JHEEE and, at the same time, list six choices of universities and courses in order of preference, in a way similar to the UCCA system in Britain. When the results of the JHEEE are complete, candidates are listed from those with the best overall scores to those with the lowest scores. The person with the best score is then given his first choice and so on until all the university places have been allocated. If a person's six choices are full by the time he is given consideration, he will not be allowed to enter university but someone below him on total overall scores may still manage to get a place if his six choices are not yet full. Part of the success in getting a place in university is often thus knowing how to choose your course.

Apart from the anomalies which occur with a system of this sort, the validity of the JHEEE itself has been called into question. A precondition for the taking of the university entrance examination is the possession of a secondary school leaving certificate and it has been found that the secondary school examinations are a better predictor of university success than the JHEEE.[17] But the JHEEE, as with all academic selection criteria as discussed in chapter 1, is criticised also on the grounds that it favours the children of professional people and businessmen, particularly those with high educational attainment themselves, the wealthy and those who live in the Bangkok area.[18]

When one looks at the composition of the student body, one can see the inequalities that exist between occupational groups and between regions. As far as percentage of successful applicants goes, the figures show proportional fairness. (See Table 4.6). When a similar comparison is done for regions, the figures are again relatively fair, though slightly in favour of the Bangkok students.

Table 4.6. Successful applicants by parental occupations, 1974.

Parental occupation	% of total applicants	% of places allocated
Agriculture	8	6
Employees	11	13
Government officials	23	21
Proprietors	51	53

Source: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.68.

Table 4.7. Successful applicants by region, 1974.

Region	% of total applicants	% of places allocated
Northeast	10	7
North	13	11
Bangkok	40	48

Note: Region refers to place of parental residence.

Source: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.68.

These figures, however, conceal much greater inequalities. When we turn to look at the proportions of the population coming from and studying in the different regions and their representation in the universities, the situation is quite different. (See Table 4.8).

The question of differential access to university in Thailand has been of concern to the Government and part of the solution to the problem has been to establish open universities. I wish to reserve a fuller discussion of the access question to a later chapter (chapter 6), when the data gathered from the three universities sampled in Thailand will be discussed.

Table 4.8. Percentage distribution of secondary school students, all applicants for higher education and successful ones by region, 1973.

Region	Population	Sec. school students	All applicants	Successful applicants
Northeast	34	8	5	3
North	21	11	7	6
South	12	7	6	5
Central region	23	15	12	9
Bangkok	10	59	70	77

Note: Region here refers to region where student attended secondary school, regardless of region of parental residence. This is different from region as specified in Table 4.7.

Source: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.73.

The total intake to the closed universities (i.e. excluding Ramkhamhaeng University) is approximately 14,000 new students per year. Table 4.9 below shows the enrolment in 1977 for these universities. The Government policy is to increase this enrolment by about 4% per year but this policy so far has not been successful.

The fact that the 4% increase is not being achieved seems of minor importance when one considers the enrolment numbers for Ramkhamhaeng University (see chapter 5) and the projected enrolments for Sukhothai Thammathirat University (see postscript to thesis). Already Ramkhamhaeng University enrolments are three times the total enrolment for all the other universities combined. The importance of this will be discussed later.

Table 4.10 gives the enrolments of the universities by UNESCO fields of study in 1977. Of the nine UNESCO fields, six have shown an increase in enrolments over the last years and the three remaining, Fine Arts, Engineering and Education, have shown a de-

Table 4.9. Undergraduate enrolment at the closed universities, 1977, by year.

Institution /Year	1	2	3	4	5/6	Total
Chulalongkorn	3,007	2,978	2,912	3,045	622	12,564
Kasetsart	1,710	1,488	1,453	1,453	85	6,189
Khon Kaen	899	759	613	681	13	2,965
Chieng Mai	1,853	1,618	2,110	1,778	379	7,738
Thammasat	1,877	2,230	2,055	2,638	-	8,800
Mahidol	891	793	974	746	636	4,040
Sri Nakharinwirot	1,456	1,390	14,614	3,554	-	21,014
Silpakorn	571	415	407	374	57	1,824
Songkla	852	626	1,296	410	35	3,219
King Mongkut's Inst.	1,054	894	826	644	652	4,070
Total	14,710	13,201	27,260	15,323	2,479	75,423

Note: The figures may appear slightly anomalous in that for some institutions, the third year enrolments are exceptionally high. This can be explained by the fact that there are special courses in some of the Faculties of Education for teachers who have teaching qualifications but not a degree. They are allowed to join the Education degree programmes at the third year level and continue on to the fourth year course before graduating with a B.A.

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.8-67.

Table 4.10 Undergraduate enrolment at the closed universities by UNESCO fields of study, 1977.

UNESCO field /Year	1	2	3	4	5/6	Total
Agriculture	1,092	869	959	947	159	3,925
Law	490	995	941	1,260	-	3,686
Medical Sciences	2,050	1,935	1,870	1,516	1,520	8,891
Humanities	1,353	976	664	560	-	3,553
Fine Arts	298	264	244	238	346	1,335
Science	1,628	1,089	795	970	-	4,482
Engineering	1,795	1,723	1,497	1,537	469	7,021
Education	2,668	2,448	17,697	5,550	40	28,403
Social Sciences	2,796	2,785	2,785	2,845	-	11,211
Total						75,027

Note: The reason why the totals in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 are not the same is that some students had not yet chosen their major subjects and thus could not be classified according to UNESCO classification.

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.7, 73.

crease.[19] This has happened despite the stated Government objective of concentration on subjects of importance to national development, such as agriculture and technology subjects. When we take into account the further increase in enrolments in some subjects due to the number of students at Ramkhamhaeng University (see chapter 5), the situation is even more divergent from the stated objectives. These enrolment figures will be referred to again later in this chapter when graduate employment is discussed.

The academic staff

At present, one of the main concerns of the universities with respect to academic staff is to employ lecturers with suitable qualifications and to attempt to upgrade the academic staff already employed. Table 4.11 indicates the present state of qualification of the academic staff at all the universities. The figures in brackets are the 1974 figures.

Most of the universities have a faculty development programme whereby they encourage staff members to study further, either in Thailand or abroad and usually give financial help. However, this is a slow process and only a small number are able to be sent each year. Nor, until recently, was there much incentive for staff to upgrade themselves, i.e. promotion was based on a system of seniority, rather than merit and if one waited long enough, one would move up the ladder.

In 1977, this system was changed, partly to encourage staff to study further and partly to encourage them to do more research. Now, for appointment or promotion to the position of assistant professor, associate professor or professor, a lecturer has to

satisfy a number of requirements, including obtaining a higher degree, publishing some research work and writing course textbooks. (See Appendix 4 for the full regulations).

Table 4.11. Level of qualification of academic staff by university. (figures are percentages for each university), 1979.

Institution	Ph.D.	M.A.	B.A.
Chulalongkorn	22 (16)	59 (50)	19 (34)
Kasetsart	17 (13)	59 (49)	24 (38)
Khon Kaen	15 (8)	45 (40)	40 (52)
Chieng Mai	18 (8)	44 (40)	38 (52)
Thammasat	14 (10)	69 (54)	17 (36)
Mahidol	32 (22)	47 (35)	20 (42)
Ramkhamhaeng	5 (5)	70 (62)	25 (33)
Sri Nakharinwirot	7 (6)	66 (50)	28 (44)
Silpakorn	7 (9)	66 (48)	27 (47)
Songkla	11 (8)	54 (33)	35 (59)
King Mongkut's Institute	5 (4)	33 (22)	62 (74)

Source: Appendix to the Report of the assessment of the Fourth Higher Education Development Plan (1977-81) (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1980), p.13.

The lack of research carried out in the universities has always been thought of as a serious problem by the Office of University Affairs since research has long been seen as a function of the universities. The Fourth National Education Development Plan emphasises this too by saying that research in the universities is directly associated with the quality of education at the tertiary level.[20] Table 4.12 indicates the level of involvement in research at each of the universities.

Part of the reason for the lack of research work being done

Table 4.12. Percentage of teaching staff involved in research work at all universities, 1976.

Institution	No. of teaching staff	% involved in research
Chulalongkorn	2,665	18
Kasetsart	1,380	38
Khon Kaen	633	39
Chieng Mai	1,417	12
Mahidol	2,519	48
Thammasat	757	6
Ramkhamhaeng	703	21
Sri Nakharinwirot	1,715	4
Silpakorn	410	3
Songkla	496	15
King Mongkut's Institute	598	1

Note: Research work refers to registered projects at the university.

Sources: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1976, (Bangkok, 1978), p.148-80. Office of University Affairs, Summary of research works of teaching staff and theses of graduate students, 1976, (Bangkok, 1978).

is that staff are overloaded with teaching duties. A Chulalongkorn University survey in 1971 reported that time spent on research activities and writing papers was only 6.2% of the total work load. Most of the time was spent on teaching (54.4%).[21] A heavy teaching load requires a great deal of preparation and marking time. The Government may ask for more research but it does not provide the time for the staff to do this, hence the situation will not improve. There is little time between semesters either for doing research work. There are generally two semesters of about 20 weeks and a six-week summer school. Much of the vacation between semesters will,

of course, be spent marking examinations. Furthermore, since lecturers are not well paid, many have to resort to moonlighting to support their meagre salaries and this leaves little time and no energy for research.

Part of the reason is also the present level of qualification of the staff. Figures in Table 4.11 show the state of qualification in 1977. When the academic staff have had no training in research, it is rather optimistic to expect them to carry out research after they have been employed.

However, it is hoped that the recent moves to tie up promotion more clearly with qualifications achieved and research work done should have a beneficial effect on the work of the universities, from the point of view of the teaching staff.

The regional universities

Three of Thailand's universities are located in the provinces, i.e. Chieng Mai in the North, Khon Kaen in the Northeast and Songkla in the South; the rest are in Bangkok. These provincial universities were established as part of the regional development programmes and also to provide more accessible higher education for the youth of the region. Towards this end, these universities have special admission policies for local students, i.e. there is a regional quota for students from the provinces near these universities; for example, the quota for Chieng Mai University is 30% and this means that 30% of the university places are allocated to the secondary school graduates in the region without their having to take the JHEEE. The figures for Khon Kaen and ongkla

are 25% and 40% respectively.[22]

However, partly because of these admission policies, which lead people to think that the quality of the students must be lower than that of the Bangkok universities and hence that a degree will not have as good status, and partly because the universities are away from Bangkok and the mainstream of Thai society, the regional universities are relatively unpopular with the potential student body. Kulachol reports that one of his respondents to a questionnaire sent to Heads of Private Colleges said that:

> "The state universities located away from Bangkok and Ramkhamhaeng had the same quality of students as the private colleges, because most parents did not want their sons and daughters to go away from Bangkok or get into Ramkhamhaeng." (23)

This unpopularity is borne out by two further writers. Barry and Brohm report that Khon Kaen University is rarely the first choice of most applicants. More often it is the 4th, 5th or 6th choice. For 1972-77, the pattern remained fairly constant, i.e. of those admitted, the following describes their preference choice for Khon Kaen University:

1st choice	4%	4th choice	16%
2nd	5%	5th	18%
3rd	11%	6th	28%

The other 18% were admitted under the regional quota rule (which at that time was 20% for Khon Kaen).[24]

Not only are the regional universities unpopular with the students, it is also more difficult to staff them. Teachers are reluctant to move out from the capital to the provinces, which are seen as a backwater, even when given added incentives such as housing subsidies. Furthermore, the educational facilities for their children are not good.

The tendency is thus for the experienced and senior personnel to work as much as possible in Bangkok, leaving the regional universities to be staffed by young teachers with little or no advanced training or research experience. (See Table 4.11 for the qualification of the staff at the regional universities).

However, the regional universities are still relatively young. With sufficient Government backing, they should improve in status and come to play a larger role in regional development. At present, the majority of the graduates are attracted elsewhere for jobs. (See Table 4.13).

Table 4.13. Areas of employment of graduates of the three regional universities, by percentage, 1975.

	Bangkok	Own region	Elsewhere
Khon Kaen	36	38	26
Chieng Mai	41	35	24
Songkla	14	76	10

Source: Office of State Universities, Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates, 1975 (Bangkok, 1977), p.85-114.

Songkla is the one exception here. But the explanation is that of the Songkla graduates who found jobs, 57% were employed in jobs they had had before (presumably in their home region). For Chieng Mai, this figure was 15% and for Khon Kaen, 1%. This would seem to indicate that the structure of the student body at Songkla is different from the other universities, perhaps because they have a 40% regional quota. But this would recuire further research.

As the research activities in the universities become more important and regional development plans proceed further, more of the graduates are expected to stay in the local areas.

Graduate employment

Since university enrolment was tied to manpower demands previously, graduate unemployment was never a serious problem. But recently, the unemployment figures have been rising and the Office of University Affairs (OUA) reported that, for those who graduated in the 1975-6 academic year, nine months after graduation, 18.92% of the new graduates had not found jobs.[25] Table 4.14 lists the number of graduates in that year and the year following and the percentage of unemployment amongst the 1975-6 graduates by institution.

Table 4.14. No. of graduates by institution, 1975-7 and % of unemployment for 1975-6 graduates.

Institution	No. graduates 1975-6	No. graduates 1976-7	% unemployed 1975-6
Chulalongkorn	2,764	2,934	14.70
Kasetsart	1,102	1,043	16.13
Khon Kaen	361	365	14.33
Chieng Mai	1,484	1,688	24.85
Thammasat	1,754	1,487	18.11
Mahidol	693	917	3.74
Ramkhamhaeng	1,256	3,361	36.46
Sri Nakharinwirot	8,009	7,429	8.20
Silpakorn	817	697	14.29
Songkla	333	392	6.08
King Mongkut's Inst.	614	642	12.38

Sources: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.101.
Office of University Affairs, Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates, 1975, (Bangkok, 1977), p.14, 42.

Of more interest, perhaps, is the areas in which the unemployment was concentrated. Table 4.15 gives the percentage of unemploy-

ment for graduates in the 1974-6 academic years by UNESCO fields of study.

Table 4.15. Percentage unemployment of graduates by UNESCO fields of study, 1974-5 and 1975-6 graduates.

UNESCO field	1974-5	1975-6	No. graduates, 1976
Natural Sciences	21	20	757
Humanities	31	29	1,090
Social Sciences	24	25	3,725
Law	21	20	1,218
Agriculture	18	17	646
Fine Arts	13	17	231
Engineering	8	13	1,152
Education	14	9	8,575
Medical Sciences	4	5	1,694

Source: Office of University Affairs, Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates, academic year 1974 and 1975, (Bangkok, 1977 and 1978 respectively), (1977 edition in Thai), p.155 and 149 respectively.

When these figures are compared with the figures in Table 4.9 (university enrolments), it would seem that enrolment at the traditional universities accords well with the employment opportunities available, education, medicine and engineering being three of the largest areas of enrolment and also the areas where jobs are relatively easy to find. Social sciences is the one exception here but this problem is common to most countries.

One of the reasons for the large social science enrolment is related to the cost of providing this kind of education. Table 4.16 below indicates the relative costs of different courses in the universities of the developing countries.

Table 4.16. Cost of higher education subjects in developing countries (cost of all subjects = 100)

Agriculture	191
Sciences	125
Engineering	111
Arts	73
Humanities	67
Social Sciences	50

Source: G.Psacharopoulos, Higher education in developing countries: a cost-benefit analysis, World Bank, Education Department, Staff Working Paper No.440, November, 1980, p.3.

The chapter following this one will however, bring out a more serious problem concerning the social sciences, arising from the opening in 1971 of Ramkhamhaeng University, which is an open admissions university offering mainly social science courses.

The high unemployment among natural scientists may at first seem strange but on consideration should not be so. Thailand, as with many developing countries, has, as yet, few job openings for pure scientists, who are mainly employed by private companies for research work. The applied scientists, such as the engineers, the agriculturalists and the medical people are more directly employable in the country, particularly in Government service.

Of more concern, with respect to the graduates, is other important information unearthed by the OUA survey of graduates. For example, while approximately 80% of the graduates found jobs in 1976, only 56% claimed to be using the knowledge acquired during their degree programme directly, and 10% felt that they were not using it at all.[26] Thirty-six percent of the employed graduates were not satisfied with the job they had and, of those, 17% said it was because the job was unrelated to their field of knowledge.[27]

There is thus clearly a mismatch between kinds of graduates and jobs available.

Fifteen percent of the graduates were employed by the Government and 77% by private companies.[28] This is rather a new trend in employment patterns. Up until then, the Civil Service had always been the largest employer of graduates (usually about 60%).

Part of the reason for this change must be the sheer increase in numbers of graduates and the accompanying inability of the Government to absorb the same percentage as before. But part of the reason must also be the differential salaries offered in private industry. Comparable jobs in the private sector were paying 25% more than Civil Service jobs in 1971[29] and this differential has almost certainly increased since then. The new interest in private companies is also reflected in the number of graduates who could find work in Bangkok itself - 76% - as opposed to 42% the year before.[30]

The pattern of graduate employment will necessarily change tremendously over the next few years with the graduation of relatively large numbers of students from Ramkhamhaeng University (see chapter 5), so that for several years, the pattern will not be clear. The opening of a second open admissions university in 1980 will further complicate the graduate figures.

Concluding remarks

That, then, is the general picture of higher education in Thailand. At present, the higher education system is under great pressure to expand and the Government has seen fit to respond to this demand by increasing access with the opening of Ramkhamhaeng University. This university is different in kind from the others and vastly different in size. The next few chapters will look at

this new university, its rationale, its form, its students and its successes and failures.

Notes and references

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2. National Economic Development Board, Second Economic and Social Development Plan, (Bangkok: Office of the Prime Minister's Printing Office, 1967), p.262, quoted in S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.24.

3. National Economic Development Board, Third Economic and Social Development Plan, (Bangkok: Office of the Prime Minister's Printing Office, 1972), p.468, quoted in Ketudat, et al., op. cit., p.24.

4. Office of University Affairs, Seminar report on Fourth National Educational Development Plan, (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1975), (in Thai), p.139, quoted in Ketudat et al., op. cit., p.24.

5. Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Education, Third National Economic and Social Development Plan, 1972-76 - Section 16 Education, in The history of Thai education (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1974), p.118.

6. ibid., p.117.

7. Office of University Affairs, The Fourth Educational Development Plan for Higher Education (1977-81) (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1977). See p.1-3 for a fuller description of what has gone wrong with the previous plans.

8. For more information, see C.Buripakdi and P.Mahakhan, Thailand, in T.N.Postlethwaite and R.M.Thomas, Schooling in the Asean region, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), p.222-72.

9. See Ketudat et al., op.cit., chapter 2 for the details of this.

10. ibid., p.15-22 covers this in more detail.

11. ibid., p.11.

12. Ministry of Education, Educational developments in Thailand, 1973-1975, Report to the 35th Session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 1975, (Bangkok, 1975), p.6.

13. Report of the Committee for Establishing the Framework for Educational Reform, Education for life and society, (Bangkok, 1974), paragraph 7.23-7.24.

14. G.Psacharopoulos, Higher education in developing countries: a cost-benefit analysis, World Bank, Education Department, Staff Working Paper No.440, 1980, p.74,85.

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Chapter 5. An introduction to Ramkhamhaeng University and the fieldwork

In 1971, a new university was opened in Thailand, greatly different from the existing universities. This was Ramkhamhaeng University, an open admissions university with a philosophy for teaching and learning which falls somewhere between a closed and an open university (as the term is understood in chapter 2).

There were two main reasons why the Thai Government decided to open such an institution:

1. The closed universities, of which there were ten, were able to enrol a total of 8,000 new students every year. At this time, approximately 25,000 people applied for university by taking the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination (JHEEE).[1] This figure was thought to be only the tip of the iceberg. Many other students were finishing secondary school but, for a variety of reasons, were not eligible to take the entrance examination, did not think their chance of 'passing' and hence gaining a university place, were very high and hence did not sit the JHEEE or were unable for financial reasons to continue on to higher education.

The Government further saw that, in future years, the number of students finishing secondary school would increase rapidly due to the expansion of secondary school provision. The capacity of the closed universities to expand was limited and at the present time (1980), there are still only approximately 14,000 places for new students every year.[2]

2. Many of those who could not find a place in the Thai universities chose to go abroad to study. At the time (1970), it was estimated that there were approximately 30,000 students studying in

foreign countries.[3] The fruits of this foreign exodus could be seen both positively and negatively but it was the negative results that were of concern to the Government.[4] They saw that:

(a) many students who went abroad studied at institutions of doubtful quality, since entrance to the good foreign universities was as competitive as in Thailand. This applied both to those who studied in neighbouring countries such as India and Philippines, as well as to colleges and universities in the U.S. When these people returned to Thailand with a degree, their position on the job market was rather uncertain.

(b) Thailand was losing a large amount of money abroad each year to finance these students. One estimate was that one billion baht (20 baht = 1 US dollar) was taken out of the country annually.

(c) those students who returned from abroad had often developed forms of behaviour inappropriate to the Thai way of life and were liable to cause unrest and discontent among the young adult population which had stayed in the country.

The idea of setting up an open admissions university was not a new one for Thailand. Thailand had had experience of this type of institution before when it opened its second university in 1933. This was the University of Moral and Political Sciences (now Thammasat) which, in the spirit of democratisation which followed the change-over from absolute to constitutional monarchy in 1932, was an 'open door' university. Class attendance was not required and examinations were conducted in regional centres.

The admission policy and mode of working of Thammasat was changed in 1960 to the system used by the other universities which had since come into existence, i.e. entrance by selective examination was instituted and 80% attendance at class was required of all students.

The reasons for the change of form were officially:

(i) that the demand for places was so great that the university could not accommodate all of those who wished to pursue higher education and

(ii) concern was expressed as to the quality of students at Thammasat.[5]

But it was also true that the political activities of the students had long been under the scrutiny of the military government and this probably also contributed to the change in policy.

This latter fact notwithstanding, it was to the old Thammasat model that the legislators turned when drawing up the Ramkhamhaeng Bill. In February, 1971, the Bill was passed and the university began accepting students in June of the same year.

Admissions

The Act of Parliament gave the university a charter similar to the other universities apart from the specific area of admissions. The original Act of 1971 stated that the following kinds of people were eligible to apply to Ramkhamhaeng:

1. Those who had graduated from secondary school after five years of secondary education or equivalent

2. civil servants, grade three or equivalent, who had completed three years of secondary school or equivalent

3. other applicants acceptable to the University Council.

The university was to accept all applicants who fulfilled any of the above conditions without restricting numbers in any way. Students were to be given the choice of attending lectures or not at the university. Those who did not attend were to be given the chance to buy appropriate material from the university for self-study at home.

The reasons given in the notes at the end of the Act for establishing this kind of university were that it:

1. would open up higher education to all levels of the population

2. would prevent students from going abroad to study

3. would solve the problem of the large number of secondary school graduates who had nowhere else to study.[6]

Ramkhamhaeng opened with four faculties: Law, Business Administration, Humanities and Education. Later, three more faculties were added: Political Science, Science and Economics. Over 1,000 different courses are now offered each semester in these areas.

The initial enrolment of the university was 35,000, a larger number than was originally expected. In the planning document for the university, the projected first enrolment figure was 18,000. It was expected that in the fourth year of opening, there would be a total of 48,000 students and in 1977, a total of 70,000.[7] These figures have turned out to be a gross underestimation. Table 5.1 indicates the new enrolments alone for each faculty from 1971 to 1976.

The reasons for the inaccuracy of the forecasting are not clear but they would seem to include factors such as the following:

(a) The fact that students who finished secondary school were now guaranteed a place in university may have encouraged larger numbers to complete their secondary education and to complete it in the academic stream and not the vocational stream.

(b) Many students who had taken the vocational stream may have finished their technical training and then continued on to university since, again, they were guaranteed a place.

In these cases, it would be true to say that the university

was not merely answering a demand for higher education but was actually creating one by its very existence.

Table 5.1. Numbers of new enrolees at Ramkhamhaeng by year and faculty

Faculty	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Law	22,472	3,223	4,093	7,904	8,979	11,912
Bus. Admin.	7,200	1,704	2,136	4,225	3,849	6,776
Humanities	1,533	536	801	1,183	1,326	1,772
Education	4,000	649	1,024	1,740	2,001	2,808
Science	-	644	1,901	2,524	2,012	1,712
Pol. Science	-	1,170	1,598	2,810	3,393	5,796
Economics	-	790	1,090	1,900	1,740	2,710
Total	35,205	8,726	12,643	22,286	23,310	33,486

Source: Editorial staff, Ramkhamhaeng Journal, Ramkhamhaeng: directions for expansion, (in Thai), Ramkhamhaeng Journal (Bangkok), January, 1977, p.3.

1976-7 saw a change in the thinking about the future of Ramkhamhaeng. In that year, two distinct and separate events had a great effect on the future planning of the university. The first event was an amendment to the Ramkhamhaeng University Act, which gave the university permission to limit its intake if it so desired, the only stipulation being that the selection of students should not be done by use of any kind of entrance examination.[8]

The university has not yet chosen to make use of this change in the law, believing that it would run counter to the very nature of the university. The number of students, however, has been increasing so rapidly that Ramkhamhaeng is now seriously considering this step. It is envisaged that by 1982, Ramkhamhaeng may use this

new power if Sukhothai Thammathirat University, the new open university, is able to accept the students who would thereby be denied a place at Ramkhamhaeng. I discuss this change further in the postscript to the thesis. However, the effect of the change in the law may have been to encourage more people to enrol in Ramkhamhaeng at that time since it was clear that sometime in the future, the door to university education might again be closed.

The second event was a change in policy for the criteria of graudation from secondary school, together with a change in the structure of the curriculum for secondary schools. Until these changes were effected, graduation from secondary school was decided by a national achievement examination. The new policy allowed each school to set its own standards for graduation, graduation now being possible after completion of a required number of units in different subjects.

Furthermore, the academic and vocational stream division was abolished. The new policy called for the comprehensivisation of the secondary schools to form a unified but diversified system. After completing six years of secondary school, the student now had the choice of leaving (and probably going to university) or staying on for further vocational training (but perhaps also then going on to university).[9]

Those two reforms in secondary education caused a large increase in the number of students graduating from secondary school. In 1977, the figure was around 200,000. For purposes of comparison, Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show the number of MS 5 leavers for the previous eight years and the projected figures for the years following 1977.

This increase in secondary school enrolments has had a great effect on Ramkhamhaeng enrolments. Table 5.4 gives the new enrol-

ments for the years since the changes in secondary school policy together with projections for the coming two years. The exact 1977 figures are not available, probably because this was the first year of the transition to the new mode of operation.

Table 5.2. Number of MS 5 leavers, 1969-76.

Year	No. of leavers
1969	12,100
1970	15,899
1971	18,695
1972	19,886
1973	34,945
1974	32,515
1975	40,532
1976	36,795

Source: Office of State Universities, General information, (Bangkok, 1976), p.54.

Table 5.3. Projected number of students in MS 5 or equivalent

Academic year	MS 5	Ecuivalent	Total
1978	163,000	59,300	222,300
1979	189,600	64,200	253,800
1980	213,900	70,600	284,500
1981	241,300	76,700	318,000

Source: U.Warotamasikkhadit and D.A.Leuschel, Thailand, Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia and Oceania (Bangkok), 1978, no.19, p.100.

From 1982 onwards, the number of new students will stabilise according to present university planning at Ramkhamhaeng. This will be the first year in which the new open university, Sukhothai Thammathirat, will take its first intake of new secondary school leavers.

Sukhothai Thammathirat (STU) will open in 1980 but for the first two years will limit its intake to those already working, as a kind of experimental period. When STU is able to work to its full capacity, Ramkhamhaeng will probably limit its intake to 100,000 new students per year.

Table 5.4. Actual and expected new enrolments at Ramkhamhaeng for 1977-1981

Faculty	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Law	18,884	29,237	45,506	45,000	55,000
Bus. Admin.	13,319	17,823	21,950	28,250	30,850
Humanities	2,364	4,024	4,804	6,000	7,550
Education	4,993	8,492	10,367	14,300	16,600
Science	2,216	2,464	2,625	3,300	3,700
Pol. Sci.	10,839	19,086	27,280	34,000	45,000
Economics	3,413	4,382	5,000	6,300	9,000
Total	55,938	85,508	117,532	137,150	163,700

Note: Figures for 1980 and 1981 are projections only.
Sources: T.Soparatana, Ramkhamhaeng University , present and future: an economic feasibility study, Discussion document for Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the Future, Ramkhamhaeng University, August, 1979, p.3.(in Thai)
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System of teaching and learning

The philosophy of the university from the beginning was that students would not be required to attend classes but that the university would provide classes for those students who did choose to attend. In the first year of opening, no more than 12,000 chose to attend regularly.[10] However, since then, the percentage has been increasing regularly and in 1979, the university estimates that

approximately 63% of its students attend regularly. (This figure is obtained from students at the beginning of each academic year, when they are asked to express their intentions with regard to attending lectures for the coming year).

One of the reasons for this change in the pattern of attendance is thought to be due to the increasing percentage of Ramkhamhaeng students who are new secondary school leavers. Is is likely that fewer of these students will have jobs and/or family responsibilities which would prevent them from attending university. It may also be true that they feel more need to attend, if they are unused to self-study, than older students who may have more self-confidence. Clearly, too, the younger students will be more interested in the social aspects of university life.

To accommodate such a large number of students, the university uses an extensive network of closed-circuit television receivers on campus. Thus the lecturer for the course will give the lecture live in one lecture room and this will be transmitted to other lecture rooms simultaneously. In this way, 10,000 students can all 'attend' a lecture at the same time.

At the present time, due to the pressure of the number of people wishing to attend lectures, hence causing accommodation problems, each course is allocated one lecture period per week, lasting one hour and 50 minutes. The original plan of the university was to offer three hours of lectures per week in each subject which carries three credits but this policy has had to be temporarily abandoned.

In 1977, when Ramkhamhaeng experienced a large increase in its intake due to changes in the secondary school policy mentioned earlier, the university was forced to abandon giving any lectures for

certain first year courses for the session 1977-8. Thirty-seven courses were thus affected. For that year also, first year students were required to pass examinations to the value of nine credits in order to qualify to continue studying at the university. The usual policy of the university is to allow students to pass and fail subjects at their own pace.[12]

This policy was given up the year following due to pressures from the students who demanded that first year students be given equality with other years since they paid the same fees. For the year 1979-80, the university has attempted a solution to the problem by giving the shorter lecture allocation mentioned earlier and also by holding lectures for first and fourth year courses on three and a half days a week and lectures for second and third year courses on the other three and a half days. The reason for this is that the first and fourth year students constitute about one half of the total enrolment.

The university is aware of the problem of accommodating all its students, especially in the two years following 1979, when numbers will again increase tremendously. Because of this, they announced that in the academic year 1980-1, they would only be able to take in 10,000 new students. However, under pressure from the Government, the university has agreed to accept a further 140,000 students each year for the next two years, on the condition that it received money from the Government to build an extension to the campus elsewhere in Bangkok.[13] This project has been approved and in June, 1980, at the opening of the new academic session, the university expected to have completed the construction of ten temporary lecture rooms on a site about 22 kilometres from the main campus. The extension was not, in fact, complete then but will be

soon.

The lecture system is backed up by textbooks, radio and television programmes and a system of 'roving lecturers', all designed to be of use to the distance learners of the university as well as to those who choose to attend regularly.

Each lecturer is encouraged to write a special textbook for all the courses he teaches, bearing in mind that these books will be used by people who are not able to attend the lectures he will be giving throughout the year. There are rewards for writing this kind of textbook, both financial and from the point of view of promotion. These will be discussed in chapter 7. The university has its own University Press which prints all the textbooks. The books are then sold as cheaply as possible to the students.

Radio and television lectures are also given mainly for first year courses and mainly in Bangkok. A course of radio lectures would consist of eight half-hour lectures, summarising the material covered by the lecturer in one semester's teaching. At present, the status of the media coverage is as follows:

Radio: 1. National Radio, broadcasting in Bangkok and surrounding and coastal areas, ten hours per day, covering 63 first year courses and 69 second to fourth year courses.

2. Regional radio stations in 28 provinces, broadcasting one hour per day, covering 28 first year courses.

3. Army radio, broadcasting nationwide from 14 stations, two hours per day, covering 46 first year courses.

4. Department of Communications Radio, broadcasting one hour per day, Monday to Friday, covering 14 first year courses, and Saturday and Sunday, one and a half hours per day, covering 12 first year courses, in Bangkok only.

Television: Broadcasting in Bangkok one hour per day, covering 12 first year courses.[14]

The 'roving lecturer' service is a service whereby the university sends out some of its lecturers to give special lectures in 12 provincial centres. A lecture series would consist of lectures given on four successive Saturdays and Sundays, finishing at least two weeks before final examinations. These lectures are summary-type lectures and are given if there is a student demand, i.e. at enrolment, students are asked to fill out a special form indicating where and on what subjects they would like a lecture series of this kind. The university then arranges a timetable according to demand. The 12 regional centres are spread over the country as follows:

North - 3 centres.

Northeast - 4 centres.

South - 3 centres.

Central - 2 centres.[15]

A semester lasts 18 weeks. There are two semesters per year and one summer school of eight weeks and most courses are offered in all three periods. A student must complete approximately 140 credits to graduate, an average semester course being worth three credits. The university estimates that the average load per student is 24 credits per semester.[16]

The university allows a student up to eight years to graduate. If he has not finished within this period, he is automatically removed from the student register and if he wished to re-enrol, he would not be allowed to carry over any of his subjects passed in his first eight years towards his degree. Credits earned at Ramkhamhaeng are not transferable to other universities and vice-versa,

except under special arrangements.[17]

A student is entitled to 'rest' for two consecutive years during his course, i.e. he may continue to be registered as a student on payment of a small fee, even if he is not taking any courses. If he does not become active again after the two years, he is automatically removed from the student register.

A student can obtain one of three grades for each course; G (good, equal to more than 80%), P (pass, equal to 60%-79%) or F (fail). F grades do not appear on a student's transcript. Examinations are given at the end of each semester and may be of the objective or the subjective type or a combination of both. First year examinations are always objective and computer-marked because of the size of the classes but for upper years, the lecturer will decide himself which system he will use. If he has a small class (50-100), he may also decide to have the students do written assignments as part of the assessment for the course. These assignments are usually optional and not required since a large number of students live too far away for the system to be practicable. However, some courses do have compulsory written work.

The graduates

When Ramkhamhaeng was first opened, concern was expressed that it would be a university of a lower standard than the other universities. This was an understandable point of view. Ramkhamhaeng does accept students who have been 'rejected', as it were, by the other universities, i.e. many of the Ramkhamhaeng students are students who took the JHEEE but were not able to get in to a university of their choice and hence entered Ramkhamhaeng.

However, Ramkhamhaeng is a Government-controlled university. The curriculum is approved by the Office of University Affairs and the graduation requirements are the same as for the closed universities. The fact that Ramkhamhaeng has not become a 'diploma mill' can be shown by the figures for students who have so far managed to graduate. Table 5.5 lists these figures for each faculty.

Compared to the overall enrolment at Ramkhamhaeng, these figures are very small. However, what is of more importance is that, relative to the other universities (which graduate a total of about 20,000 students each year), the figures are quite large. The importance of this is seen when we look at the unemployment record of Ramkhamhaeng graduates. Table 5.6 gives the unemployment figures by percentage for students one year after graduation. As the number of graduates increases over the years, these figures will become more serious.

The research work

This chapter, so far, has attempted to give an introduction to Ramkhamhaeng so as to set the scene for the research work carried out in Thailand. I spent approximately eight months at the university in 1979 and also visited other universities in the country.

On the basis of the information reported so far in this chapter, I identified four areas of interest which it was hoped would allow an analysis of the effectiveness and usefulness of Ramkhamhaeng in the Thai context but would also allow more general conclusions to be drawn relevant to other, newer open learning institutions, as well as to the philosophy of open learning at the higher

Table 5.5. Number of graduates of Ramkhamhaeng by year and faculty

Faculty	1975	1976	1977	1978	Total
Law	473	1,208	1,645	2,378	5,740
Bus. Administration	232	666	706	898	2,502
Humanities	194	312	495	537	1,438
Education	238	470	644	669	2,021
Science	10	76	183	298	567
Political Science	36	312	662	1,142	2,152
Economics	73	317	563	947	1,900
Total	1,256	3,361	4,894	6,869	16,384

Source: Information on the students, Document prepared for Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the Future, Ramkhamhaeng University, August, 1979, p.19. (in Thai).

Table 5.6. Unemployment of Ramkhamhaeng graduates by faculty and year (by percentage)

Faculty	1975	1976
Law	21.53	23.10
Business Administration	28.49	35.71
Humanities	51.06	57.14
Education	50.79	39.04
Science	38.24	57.14
Political Science	70.67	57.14
Economics	68.54	30.09

Sources: Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates academic year 1974 (in Thai) and 1975, (Bangkok: Office of University Affairs, 1976 and 1977 respectively), p.29-30 and p.30-31 respectively.

education level in developing countries. Within these four areas of research, I will attempt to deal with the six questions raised at the end of chapter 2.

The four general areas were as follows:

1. Access. As was discussed in chapter 1, the expansion of higher education arose not only from the pressure of numbers and social demand but also from concern about equality in education. The Ramkhamhaeng University Bill reflected this concern and, from the point of view of sheer size of enrolment, Ramkhamhaeng could certainly be said to be expanding access. I was interested, however, in what kind of expansion of opportunity had taken place, i.e. did Ramkhamhaeng offer a chance to different kinds of people from the traditional universities, people who would otherwise have been unable to enter university because of social, personal or economic factors, or was it merely catering for the same kind of students but in larger numbers?

Towards this end, I carried out a questionnaire survey to compare the students at Ramkhamhaeng with students at two of the closed universities in Thailand. The questionnaires are explained in detail below.

2. The teaching -learning system. The teaching-learning system at Ramkhamhaeng combines some of the characteristics of the teaching-learning systems of both closed and open universities, i.e. the use of lectures and face-to-face contact (of a sort), together with the use of the broadcast media and specially prepared textbooks. I was interested in the effectiveness of the distance learning methods and also in the responses of both staff and students to the two types of learning possible.

Again, the questionnaires provided useful material. I also carried out a number of interviews with academic and administrative staff of the university to ascertain their views on the teaching-learning system. These interviews are also explained below.

3. The successes and failures of the university. Under this heading is subsumed a variety of topics. Firstly, I was interested in the graduates and the 'dropouts' of the university. From studying these two groups of people, it was hoped that some insights might be gained as to areas in which the university was functioning well and areas which could be said to be problem areas. Towards this end, I carried out a survey of graduates and 'dropouts' which again will be explained below. I was also interested in how the graduates fared in the job market, and unemployment rates, attitudes towards graduates of an open university, etc. were thought to be useful indicators of how successful the university was in more general terms.

I was also interested in some other areas which the university itself saw as problem areas such as, for example, lack of research carried out by the teaching staff, problems of planning and development in the university, etc.

Information on these issues was gathered from discussions with Ramkhamhaeng staff at all levels, reading of the Ramkhamhaeng Journal and attendance at seminars held by the university on specific issues.

4. The opening of Sukhothai Thammathirat University in 1980. This university will have a rather different form from that of Ramkhamhaeng although it will also be an open admissions university. The form it will take more closely resembles that of the British Open University, though again there will be some differences.

I was interested in why it was felt neces ary to open a second open university and also why it was felt necessary to use quite a different system from that used at Ramkhamhaeng. What had been learned from the experience of Ramkhamhaeng to help the planning of the new university? And in the light of my findings about Ramkhamhaeng, would Sukhothai be a more effective institution?

Most of the information for this section was gained by reading appropriate material on the planning of the new university but I also had discussions with some of the academic staff of Sukhothai who are presently working on course preparation and administration. It was also possible to talk to a Government official of the Office of University Affairs (the Ministry for universities) on Government thinking about the two universities.

From the above outline, it is clear that most of the research findings will be very specific to Ramkhamhaeng and the Thai situation. But it is hoped that the insights gained, both positive and negative in nature, will be of more general interest and may throw some light on the broader issues of open universities as a viable means of satisfying the demand for higher education in the developing world.

The questionnaires (See Appendix 1 for examples of the questionnaires in both English and Thai and Appendix 2 for details of the sampling and a justification of the representability of the sample obtained).

A four-page questionnaire was produced in Thai for distribution to 1,000 students at Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities. The same questionnaire, with the addition of one further page, was produced for students currently studying at Ramkhamhaeng University. The questions covered personal data, family background, educational

background, studying problems and employment expectations. For Ramkhamhaeng students, the further questions covered specific issues at Ramkhamhaeng, such as the teaching methods, and asked for student opinions on the university.

For Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities, the questionnaires were sent to each of the appropriate faculties in numbers proportionate to the enrolment in each faculty and the faculties themselves distributed the questionnaires to students, by department and year as requested by myself. No other restrictions were put on the sampling. The questionnaires were returned by the students to the Faculty Offices, where I collected them.

For Ramkhamhaeng University, the system of distribution was different. For first year students, questionnaires were mailed directly in numbers proportionate to the first year enrolment in each faculty, complete with return address and stamp, after enrolment for first year students for first semester was complete . For second, third and fourth year students, the questionnaires were distributed by the faculty on each day of enrolment for first term in numbers directed by me so as to sample students who had enrolled in all years since the university opened. These questionnaires were also complete with return address and stamp. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 indicate the number of questionnaires sent and returned for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities. The distribution for both universities took place during June and July, 1979.

The response rate for Ramkhamhaeng was low for the first 1,000 questionnaires, approximately 40%. In October, therefore, a second set of questionnaires was sent out, totalling 750, to other students

Table 5.7. Chulalongkorn University: questionnaires sent and returned

Faculty	Year	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		total		% return
		s	r	s	r	s	r	s	r	s	r	
Education		45	26	55	29	65	20	75	5	240	80	33
Law		18	13	17	20	17	15	18	14	70	62	89
Communic. Arts		15	-	15	13	15	10	15	10	60	33	55
Comm. + Acc.		50	33	50	41	45	43	45	38	190	155	82
Pol. Science		25	1	25	9	25	23	25	16	100	49	49
Science		60	43	60	37	35	19	35	31	190	130	68
Economics		16	9	12	1	12	7	10	8	50	25	50
Arts		25	10	25	16	25	20	25	11	100	57	57
Not specified											9	
								Total		1,000	600	60

s=sent, r=returned.

Table 5.8. Chieng Mai University: questionnaires sent and returned

Faculty	Year	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		total		% return
		s	r	s	r	s	r	s	r	s	r	
Humanities		75	9	70	16	65	17	70	9	280	51	18
Science		45	5	40	19	30	15	45	17	160	56	35
Soc. Science		70	41	65	60	65	65	80	58	280	224	80
Education		50	50	50	50	100	100	80	60	280	260	86
Not specified											18	
								Total		1,000	609	61

in years and faculties for which returns were especially low. These questionnaires were all mailed. Table 5.9 indicates the response rate for the Ramkhamhaeng questionnaires. The second row of figures for some faculties indicates the number of questionnaires sent out and returned on the second attempt. Note that not all years and faculties were re-sampled.

Table 5.9. Ramkhamhaeng students: questionnaires sent and returned

Faculty/Year	Unknown	1st s	1st r	2nd s	2nd r	3rd s	3rd r	4th s	4th r	total s	total r	% return
Law	3	95	29	85	18	85	12	85	20	350	82	
	3	50	23	115	10	115	13	120	13	400	62	19
Bus. Ad.	5	60	19	50	11	50	18	50	13	210	66	
	1	40	14	50	5	40	3	60	10	190	33	25
Humanities	3	14	7	12	9	12	8	12	12	50	39	78
Education		20	12	20	4	20	4	20	12	80	32	
				30	7	20	3			50	10	32
Science		10	7	10	9	10	6	10	7	40	29	73
Pol. Sci.	5	55	17	45	11	45	28	45	14	190	75	
	1	40	9	40	6			30	6	110	22	32
Economics		20	12	20	8	20	12	20	17	80	49	61
Not specified											17	
									Total	1,000	372	37
										750	127	17
										1,750	516	29

Two thousand further questionnaires were prepared, 1,000 for graduates of Ramkhamhaeng and 1,000 for 'dropouts' of the university, temporary or permanent (i.e. those who were 'resting' for two years or those who had completely dropped out; it was not possible to distinguish between the two). The questions were the same as for the students currently studying at Ramkhamhaeng, with slightly different wording to suit the condition of the respondents. All questionnaires

were mailed using lists of graduates and 'dropouts' supplied by the university and each was complete with return address and stamp. The questionnaires for graduates were distributed in June and for 'dropouts', in August. The table below indicates the number of questionnaires sent and received.

Table 5.10. Ramkhamhaeng graduates and 'dropouts': questionnaires sent and returned

Faculty	Graduates			'Dropouts'		
	s	r	%return	s	r	% return
Law	320	105	33	380	40	11
Business Admin.	130	37	28	190	14	7
Humanities	90	27	30	50	5	10
Education	120	50	42	80	9	11
Science	40	14	35	180	17	9
Political Science	160	37	23	50	3	6
Economics	140	36	26	70	5	7
Not specified		6			19	
Totals	1,000	312	31	1,000	112	11

s=sent, r=returned

Chapter 6 will concentrate on analysing the data collected from the questionnaires from students presently studying and chapter 8, questionnaires from graduates and 'dropouts'. But the other chapters following this one will also make use of information gathered from the questionnaires.

The interviews at Ramkhamhaeng

A sample of four lecturers from each faculty was given a standardised interview. Each lecturer was asked questions about his own teaching experience and his opinions on general university issues.

Appendix 3 sets out the form of these interviews. The sample was chosen by me so as to include lecturers who taught mainly first year courses, mainly second year courses and so on up to fourth year courses. All interviews were conducted with the cooperation of the Dean of the Faculty. Interviews were conducted in Thai or English, depending on the relative abilities of interviewer and interviewee in both languages. The questions asked were the same in both languages. Only if the interviewee was completely at home in English was the interview conducted in this language.

When the interviews for the four lecturers were completed, an interview was then conducted with the Dean of each Faculty covering both questions specifically related to his Faculty and questions related to general university issues. These interviews were not standardised since I used information gathered from the student questionnaires from students in each Faculty, together with information gathered from the lecturers in each Faculty, to interview the Dean. However, many of the issues covered for each Dean were the same.

When these interviews were complete, all the information gathered up to that point was used to devise interviews for the administrative staff. The administrative staff interviewed were the Heads of the non-teaching sections of the University. These were as follows:

1. Head Librarian
2. Head of Audio-Visual and Media Section
3. Head of the University Press
4. Manager of the University Bookstore
5. Head of the Administration Office (covering enrolment and examinations)

The final series of interviews was with the Vice-Rectors of

the university. These interviews attempted to use all the information gathered from other sources, together with my own opinions and ideas. The four Vice-Rectors deal with the following areas:

1. Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs.
2. Vice-Rector for Student Affairs.
3. Vice-Rector for Business Affairs. (It was not possible to conduct this interview.)
4. Vice-Rector for Planning and Development

It should be noted that the interviews listed here were the formal interviews carried out by myself but much more time was spent talking informally to individual lecturers and groups of lecturers I came to know. These discussions were naturally not recorded but obviously contributed much to my ideas and assessment also.

The chapters following this one are an attempt to draw together the results and information gathered using the four themes discussed earlier in the chapter. It is to be hoped that the final chapter will draw some useful, general conclusions in the field of open education at the level of higher education

Notes and references

1. A.Raksasataya, An Open University, in A.Tapingkae, (ed.), Education in Thailand: some Thai perspectives, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1973), p.106.

2. Office of State Universities, General information, (Bangkok, 1976), p.23.

3. A.Gomonganjan et al., The history of the establishment of Ramkhamhaeng University (in Thai), (Bangkok: Ramkhamhaeng University Press, undated, probably 1975), chapter 2, p.12.

4. Raksasataya, op.cit., p.107-8.

5. A.Raksasataya, Ramkhamhaeng: the open-door university re-examined, in A.Tapingkae, (ed.), The growth of Southeast Asian universities: expansion versus consolidation, (Singapore: Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, 1974), p.144.

6. The Ramkhamhaeng University Act of Parliament, 1971 (in Thai). The actual note at the end of the Act says the following: "Owing

to the fact that the population of Thailand is increasing, more students find they have nowhere to study. This problem arises every year because the other universities already have a large number of students but have limited space and they may not be able to increase their student enrolment. So this university will be an open university, accepting students from all parts of the country who may either choose to attend lectures at the university or to buy similar material from the university for self-study after which they will sit the examinations. This will make education available to all levels of the population and will improve the quality of ability and knowledge of the Thai people, raising it to a level comparable to that of the developed world. This will also prevent students from going abroad to study and thus causing a large loss of foreign currency every year and it will also solve the problem of students who have nowhere to study."

7. A. Raksasataya, Ramkhamhaeng University in education year 1971, (in Thai), Ratasapasan (Bangkok), 1971, vol.8, no.16, p.16-20.

8. The Ramkhamhaeng University Act of Parliament (Amendment), 1977, (in Thai). The note to the Amendment reads: "Ramkhamhaeng University has experienced problems with respect to lack of teachers and buildings but has had no power to limit the student numbers. This Amendment gives them that power but stresses that an entrance examination is not to be used as a method of limiting student numbers".

9. N.Bennett, Educational reform in Thailand, Education in Asia (Bangkok), 1975, no.8, p.8.

10. P.Kietsomboon, Opinions of Ramkhamhaeng University teachers and students on the utilisation of closed-circuit television for education, (in Thai), M.Ed. thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1973, p.2.

11. The plan for setting up an extension of Ramkhamhaeng University, 1980-1, (in Thai), Document prepared for Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the Future, Ramkhamhaeng University, August, 1979, p.4.

12. R.Pusara and faculty members, The results of using media in teaching instead of lectures for first year students at Ramkhamhaeng University (in Thai), Ramkhamhaeng University Education Faculty, 1977.

13. Memorandum from the Office of the Rector, Ramkhamhaeng University, July 30, 1979, (in Thai), concerning the solving of the problem of new secondary school graduates in 1980 and 1981 who have no place to study.

14. B.Kirirote, Some ideas on solving the problems of the teaching and learning system at Ramkhamhaeng University in the future (in Thai), (mimeograph), 1979, p.1,3.

15. Information on teaching and evaluation, (in Thai), Document prepared for Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the Future, op.cit., p.11-12.

16. The plan for setting up an extension of Ramkhamhaeng University, op.cit., p.4.

17. Ramkhamhaeng has a reciprocal arrangement with Kasetsart University for some courses in the Science Faculty. This applies to courses offered at summer school only, i.e. students from Kasetsart may enrol for a summer course at Ramkhamhaeng if Kasetsart is not offering that course and vice-versa. These subjects will then be credited towards the student's degree.

Chapter 6. Access to Ramkhamhaeng.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, part of the raison d'etre for the establishment of Ramkhamhaeng University was to expand university access to a wider range of people. Chapter 4 has dealt briefly with the issue of access to university in Thailand, Tables 4.6 - 4.8 providing figures which highlight the inequalities in access to higher education.

When differences in access to education are looked at in Thailand by Government bodies, the concerns are with differences in socioeconomic status and regional variation. For example, Table 4.6 indicates that children of agricultural families have a small representation in university although agricultural workers form about 80% of the working population and Table 4.8 shows the over-representation of Bangkok-educated students.

There are several reasons for the inequalities that do exist at the university level:

1. the unequal provision of education at the lower levels in the regions (and hence also for people of lower occupational status)

2. the influence of social class on attitudes towards education and in providing facilities for children to encourage study. (This factor has already been discussed in chapter 1).

3. the financial capabilities of various sections of the population to send their children to university when the expenses must be borne privately.

As far as the first factor is concerned, the enrolment ratios in primary and secondary schools in the Thai regions such as the north and the northeast are well below those of the rest of the country, particularly Bangkok. By far the most important reason for

dropping out early on in the schooling process is simply lack of schools in these areas beyond the basic four years of primary schooling.[1] Not only is the quantity of education available in the north and northeast less but the quality, as shown by average achievement test scores and school facilities, is lower. In the northeast, schools are smaller, more crowded, more scattered, less well-staffed and have the smallest material budget per student.[2] Since there are proportionately fewer people in schools, i.e. the enrolment ratio is lower, in the provincial areas, coupled with the fact that the education they do receive is of a lower quality than in the metropolitan area, it becomes inevitable that the provincial students will be under-represented in the universities. It is, of course, possible for students to move to other areas where the provision of schooling is better, for example, Bangkok, and many people do this but it requires some financial sacrifice on the part of parents to maintain their children outside the family home and, indeed, this kind of solution to the problem is beyond the financial capabilities of most of the rural population.

Several measures have been taken to redress the balance. The regional universities themselves make special provision for the local students and the Bangkok universities have certain programmes, particularly in the field of medical training, whereby provincial students are allowed to enter without the usual qualifications provided they return to the provinces on graduation.[3] Furthermore, the Educational Subcommittee of 1974 proposed several reforms to equalise opportunity at the lower levels and this should be transmitted up the system; reforms such as grants for books, uniforms, etc. to poor families for children in primary schools, changes in the Budget allocation procedure, increasing the fees at the secondary

and tertiary levels but with a corresponding increase in scholarships to needy families for children to continue studying and an increase in the number of schools.[4]

The third difficulty mentioned above, that of money, is rather more difficult to deal with. A large proportion of the Thai working population consists of agricultural workers (about 80%) whose income is not high. Most students in Thai universities are supported by their parents, thus it is clear that the higher income families will be more able to support their children for a longer time in the educational process. For many of the agricultural families, even allowing their children secondary education is a financial burden and many cannot afford it at all. When the secondary schools are far from home, the temples in the towns and cities are the only place where the parents can lodge their sons while they attend school. But due to economic factors, the temples too have become less available for this purpose.[5]

Higher education for these children is a financial impossibility. Not only are there direct costs such as fees and living expenses to bear but there is also the indirect cost of losing the children's working power for the period when they are studying. Inevitably, too, the children who have gone on to higher education will not return to work with their parents afterwards, although if they find good employment, they may contribute some money to the family income.

In opening Ramkhamhaeng, it was hoped that some of the problems mentioned above would be solved. It was hoped, for example, that the removal of the entrance examination qualification would give the chance of entering university to a larger range of the population.[6] But the main hopes were based on the removal of the

necessity to attend university in person. This theoretically gives aspiring students the chance to stay at home, thus both removing the expense of living costs for students as well as removing the financial hardship to the parents of the loss of a worker. Students are also given the chance to support themselves through university since they have the chance to work and study at the same time.

In an effort to look at the effectiveness of Ramkhamhaeng's system in expanding access, I undertook a survey of various personal and educational background characteristics of students from three universities; Ramkhamhaeng itself, a Bangkok university (Chulalongkorn) and a provincial university (Chieng Mai).

The rest of this chapter will concentrate on analysing the data from these three groups in an effort to see if the students who attend Ramkhamhaeng are different from students at the other two universities and to look at special characteristics of the Ramkhamhaeng students by faculty etc. It must be remembered that the admission policy at Chieng Mai University differs from that of Chulalongkorn in that a quota system is partially applied. (See chapter 4 for a fuller explanation of this.)

The chapter falls into two sections, the first being a comparison among the three universities and the second, a further breakdown of the Ramkhamhaeng data. All data have been analysed using the chi-square technique, with analysis of residuals, and all results reported as being significant refer to significance at the 01 level. Unless otherwise stated, all figures quoted here have been produced from questionnaire returns. No totals have been added to the figures since they are approximately equal to the total number of questionnaires returned in each group but slight differences in totals occur since not everyone answered all the questions.

A. Analy s among the three universities

1. Sex. able 6.1 indicates the composition of the samples by sex.

T le 6.1. Composition of the samples by sex.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
M .e	246	41	233	38	272	53
F ıale	354	59	376	62	244	47

The dist .bution of sampled males and females at Ramkhamhaeng is signific .tly different from the other two universities. However, this dif ›rence is largely due to the fact that only some of the faculti at Chula and Chieng Mai were sampled. Faculties such as engineer ıg and agriculture, which traditionally have a large representa .on of males, have not been taken into account since there are no e ;ineering and agriculture faculties at Ramkhamhaeng. (See Appendix ' for a fuller explanation of this). In general at Thai universi .es, there is approximately equal representation of males and fema es. The differences here do not appear to bias the data, since it ill become clear from later tables that Chieng Mai and Ramkhamh eng data correspond on many of the factors and are different f om Chulalongkorn, despite the close resemblance of the Chula ar Chieng Mai samples on the sex factor.

2. Age c entering universi ty. Table 6.2 indicates the spread of age of ' idents on entering university. Again differences are significan ıt the 01 level. Here, the main differences are between the age ' Chulalongkorn entrants and that of Ramkhamhaeng entrants, Ramkhaml eng having a larger number of 'mature' students. Almost

all the Chula students are new secondary school graduates, whereas only 70% of the Ramkhamhaeng students fall into this category. Some of Ramkhamhaeng's older students will, of course, be people who are older on entering because they have been trying to get into the closed universities for some time. But later tables discussing the question of whether students have taken the JHEE or not, as well as the data on the working students at Ramkhamhaeng, show that the older student group differs substantially from the younger group, for example, it consists largely of people who have decided to enter university some time after graduation from secondary school. One of the hopes expressed for Ramkhamhaeng was that it would give a chance to those who had missed out on higher education at an earlier stage and this hope has been reached to some extent. The presence of older students at Chieng Mai can be accounted for by the presence of a large number of older students in the Education Faculty, as explained in the previous chapter.

Table 6.2. Age of students on entering university.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	552	97	495	81	334	69
21-23	18	3	47	8	78	16
over 23	-	-	67	11	69	14

In an attempt to look at the trends at Ramkhamhaeng on age, an analysis of age on entry of students at present in first to fourth years was also done. Table 6.3 presents the data. The main differences here are between first and second years and third and fourth years, third year being particularly different

Table 6.3. Age on entering Ramkhamhaeng by present year of study.

	1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	80	67	62	69	85	79	46	72
21-23	31	17	13	14	14	13	22	17
over 23	38	16	15	17	8	8	14	11

from the first two. The trend would seem to be for the presence of a large number of younger students in the upper years and a corresponding drop in the presence of older students. Two reasons could account for this:

1. Differential enrolment patterns between 1976 and 1979 or
2. Differential dropout rates for different age-groups.

If the first were true, it would indicate that several years ago there was a larger percentage of younger people enrolling than in recent years. This appears to me to be incorrect, especially since the change in Government policy towards secondary school graduation in 1977 served to increase the number of secondary school leavers and was followed by a large increase in enrolment at Ramkhamhaeng that year. It is more probably true that the retention rate for students of different ages is different, i.e. that older students, who are usually working, drop out more than younger students and that the enrolment pattern is similar over the last few years. It would be useful to know if the percentage of older students enrolling has actually dropped over the years but these figures are not available. However, overall, one can still conclude that there is a larger representation of older students at Ramkhamhaeng than at the other universities. A further analysis of this point will be developed later in this chapter and in the chapter on the dropouts,

where the question of staying power will be examined and related to other literature on this topic.

3. Married or single? It would be expected that differences in age groups enrolling would also be reflected in the civil status of the students and thus that Ramkhamhaeng would have a larger number of married students than the other universities. The data for this factor are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Status of groups with respect to marriage.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	580	100	568	93	477	92
Married	2	-	30	7	39	8

In fact, Chulalongkorn has significantly fewer married students than the other two universities, though it is clear that a large number of the older students at Ramkhamhaeng are still single with no family responsibilities as regards spouse and children. This finding is not caused by sex differences. The Chula and Chieng Mai samples have proportionately more males than Ramkhamhaeng but my data show that there are proportionately more male married students than female ones. This is probably true for cultural reasons, in that a married female would not be thought to need any further education but would be expected to devote her time to home responsibilities. Her husband, however, could find a degree useful for promotion purposes.

4. Size of family and father's income. The next two factors, those of family size and father's income, will both affect the financial

ability of parents to support their children at university, the family size being an important factor for lower income families with many children to support through the educational process. The hope of the Government was that a larger number of students from lower income families would be able to complete university education with the opening of Ramkhamhaeng. Tables 6.5 and 6.6 present the data relevant to this issue. The average family size in the general population is about five children.

Table 6.5. Family size of three groups of students (no. of siblings).

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-3 children	161	27	130	22	104	20
4-6 children	294	49	318	52	244	47
7 + children	140	24	161	26	168	33

The data indicate that Ramkhamhaeng has a larger number of students from large families and a smaller number of students from small families than Chulalongkorn. However, the economic capacities of the families are more clearly seen in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. Monthly income of students' fathers (in baht).

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-999 baht/month	29	5	59	11	54	11
1000-1999 baht/month	31	5	90	17	73	15
2000-2999 baht/month	69	12	104	19	86	18
3000-4999 baht/month	175	32	154	28	145	31
over 5000 baht/month	241	46	136	25	117	25

The clearest difference here is that at the highest income level where a larger number of Chula students are found than for the other universities. What is also of interest, however, is the very close similarity between the pattern for Chieng Mai and that for Ramkhamhaeng, corresponding very closely for each category. What is to be concluded from this table, then, is that Ramkhamhaeng does indeed cater for a wider tange of income brackets than Chulalongkorn, though there is still a large representation of the higher income levels at Ramkhamhaeng too. Before commenting on the Chieng Mai-Ramkhamhaeng similarities, it is useful to look at the next two tables.

5. Home province and region where secondary schooling was completed.

Table 6.7. Home province of students.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	363	64	101	17	204	41
Central region	113	20	127	21	153	30
North	23	6	284	47	50	8
Northeast	29	4	45	8	38	10
South	36	5	41	7	58	12

For Tables 6.7 and 6.8, the data for Chieng Mai have been listed but not included in the statistical analysis of differences on these factors between the universities, since the admission policy of Chieng Mai, with its preferential treatment for local students, would necessarily cause differences to appear.

Both from the point of view of home province of students

(Table 6.7) and region where secondary school was completed (Table 6.8), Ramkhamhaeng caters for a wider range of students than Chulalongkorn. The Ramkhamhaeng figures are particularly interesting when compared with those in Table 4.8 (reproduced here as Table 6.9), which indicates the percentage distribution of secondary school students by region. The Ramkhamhaeng figures show that Ramkhamhaeng is drawing almost proportionately from the secondary school populations from the different regions. For example, approximately 59% of secondary school students are enrolled in Bangkok (see Table 6.9, second column), while approximately 63% of Ramkhamhaeng students in my sample are drawn from Bangkok schools. Compare this figure with the figure of 77% of all university students (excluding Ramkhamhaeng) who are drawn from the Bangkok-educated group (see Table 6.9, last column). Thus although the inequalities in secondary school provision are still present, Ramkhamhaeng is reducing the inequalities in continuation from secondary to higher education.

Table 6.8. Region where secondary schooling was completed.

	Chula		C.U.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	515	90	168	29	306	63
Central region	38	7	83	14	94	19
North	2	-	284	47	20	4
Northeast	12	2	28	5	33	7
South	8	1	23	4	34	7

The figures in general in these tables highlight the drift to Bangkok for secondary education. Chulalongkorn students, in particular, seem to be drawn from Bangkok-educated students even though

the students' home provinces are more widely located. Even in the case of Ramkhamhaeng, the drift is also seen from all provinces to the capital.

Table 6.9. Percentage distribution of secondary school students, all applicants for higher education and successful ones by region, 1973.

Region	Population	Sec. school students	All applicants	Successful applicants
Bangkok	10	59	70	77
Central region	23	15	12	9
North	21	11	7	6
Northeast	34	8	5	3
South	12	7	6	5

Note: Region here refers to region where student attended secondary school, regardless of region of parental residence.

Source: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.73.

As far as Chieng Mai is concerned, it is clear that approximately one half of the students come from the northern region and also go to the local university. Although the region is relatively large, and students may still be going some distance from home, it is also true that living expenses for many of them will be much cheaper than they would have been in Bangkok. This, in itself, may contribute to the presence of a larger number of lower income families than for Chula.

6. Education of parents. Tables 6.10 and 6.11 present data relating to the educational attainment of both parents of the students sampled. PS refers to primary school and MS to secondary school.

Table 6.10. Educational attainment of fathers.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
below PS 4	99	18	91	16	69	14
PS 4	107	19	154	27	143	29
PS 4-7	53	10	64	12	63	13
MS 1-3	76	14	122	21	103	21
MS 4-5	28	5	41	7	27	6
beyond MS 5, but not university	71	13	48	8	42	9
University	116	21	51	9	38	8

Table 6.11. Educational attainment of mothers.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
below PS 4	140	25	127	22	118	24
PS 4	146	26	254	43	205	41
PS 4-7	56	10	61	10	70	14
MS 1-3	78	14	85	14	63	13
MS 4-5	24	4	21	4	15	3
beyond MS 5, but not university	66	12	31	5	20	4
University	49	9	11	2	10	2

The differences here are again quite distinct in both tables, the main difference being that Chulalongkorn students come from homes where parents have had a higher level of education, particularly university education. For both Ramkhamhaeng and Chieng Mai, larger numbers of students come from homes where the educational level of parents is not high. This factor is, naturally, related to income, since it is generally but not always true that in Thailand, more highly educated people earn higher incomes.

Summary of differences among the universities.

In all the tables listed above, there are significant differences between Ramkhamhaeng students and Chulalongkorn students, the differences in general being that Ramkhamhaeng students are drawn from a wider socioeconomic background than Chulalongkorn students. On socioeconomic factors, Chieng Mai and Ramkhamhaeng are very similar, the implication being that the regional universities and the 'open university' expand access to take in a wider range of the population. The advantage of Ramkhamhaeng over Chieng Mai is, of course, in costs both to the Government and to the individual and the added factor that students have the chance to work and study. Table 6.12 shows the number of students working and studying at each university.

Table 6.12. Students in sample working and studying

Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
67	13	63	12	219	43

It should also be stated that the average number of hours worked per week by both Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai working students is five and for Ramkhamhaeng students is 39, i.e. Ramkhamhaeng students who are working, are working full-time while those at the other two universities are holding part-time, perhaps evening or weekend jobs. The importance of the working and studying to the students is further reflected when source of income is examined. Table 6.13 indicates the source of income for all students sampled.

The most significant difference is that of the number of Ramkhamhaeng students who are self-supporting. Again, further analysis

of this factor will be made later in this chapter.

Table 6.13. Source of income of students.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government scholarship	9	2	46	8	-	-
Private scholarship	10	2	5	1	-	-
Parents/relations	550	93	509	84	343	66
Personal savings	2	-	3	-	18	3
Working and studying	12	2	28	5	149	29
Other	11	2	18	3	6	1

As far as access in general is concerned, it is clear that the open admission policy at Ramkhamhaeng is allowing a wider range of people at least to begin university education. At the same time, it must not be thought that Ramkhamhaeng has solved all the inequality problems. A brief re-examination of Tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8 will affirm that Ramkhamhaeng has reduced some of the imbalances as far as regional and financial differences are concerned but it is nevertheless still true that, for example, 25% of Ramkhamhaeng students come from the highest income families. Nor can Ramkhamhaeng be expected to solve the problem of regional inequalities at lower levels of education. What is encouraging, however, is that more people from the provincial schools are taking the chance of a university education. Large inequalities still exist but Ramkhamhaeng has gone a considerable way to increasing the opportunities for those who do finish secondary education.

These findings are interesting when one considers the discussion of access in chapters 1 and 2. In chapter 2, some doubts were

expressed as to the potential success of expanding access in reaching the disadvantaged groups in society. Debeauvais, in particular, was quoted as saying that previous attempts have had little impact. My data seem to show that this is not the case in Thailand.

Furthermore, although comparisons are difficult, it would seem that Ramkhamhaeng has been more successful in reaching the lower levels than, for example, the British Open University. The work of McIntosh in 1971-2 on the composition of the Open University student body, showed that 53% of the students were upper-middle or middle class, and a further 37% were lower middle class compared with 7% skilled working class and 1% straight working class.[7] It is true, however, that if father's occupation not students' occupation is looked at, the results are different, i.e. a higher percentage of students is drawn from working class backgrounds.[8] But the Open University students are generally older than the kind of student studying at Ramkhamhaeng.

The reason for the Ramkhamhaeng success in reaching the lower-income groups may spring from the fact that there is a very large lower income group to be reached in Thailand as in most developing countries. The differences in costs for students studying at Ramkhamhaeng as compared to traditional universities in Thailand can be considerable. Ramkhamhaeng studying fees are 18 baht per credit, where traditional universities charge 25 baht per credit. Furthermore the fact that students can live at home while studying and/or work and study reduces the expense to families.

The financial benefits of attending Ramkhamhaeng as opposed to traditional Thai universities are not available to Open University students as opposed to traditional university students in

Britain. Traditional university students in Britain are give: grants by the Government to cover tuition fees and to contribute to: rds living expenses. Open University students are rarely given g: nts, especially for the rather costly venture of summer school at: ndance. In Thailand, almost all students are financed by their famil: s or themselves so there is a real saving in attending Ramkhamhae: . This is a real incentive to lower income families in Thailan: The same incentive is not present for lower income families : Britain since attending the Open University involves a finan: al outlay which would not be required in attending a traditiona: British university. However, it is rather difficult to compare Ramkh haeng with the British Open University since the target groups are clearly different. (See chapter 2 for a discussion of the British Op: Uni-versity).

Thus in opening access to new secondary school leavers, pen universities in developing countries may have added advantag: from the financial viewpoint of the individual over traditional unive: ities and these advantages are not found to the same extent in the resent open universities in developed countries. One must also reme: er that there will be more real demand for university education rom the lower-income groups in developing countries because of t: differential earnings a graduate can expect as discussed in ap-ter 1. These differences do not exist to the same extent in ve-loped countries.

B. Further analysis of the Ramkhamhaeng data

The Ramkhamhaeng data can be further broken down and lo: ed at in different ways and it seemed useful to investigate the if-ferences between working and non-working students and to exa: ne

inter-faculty differences also. Inter-year differences are less useful since it is not clear whether differences occur because of different enrolment patterns when the students entered Ramkhamhaeng or to different post-entry dropout rates for students from different backgrounds. A more detailed look, specifically at the dropouts, will be taken in chapter 8 but where I feel it is useful, I will mention inter-year differences also.

Of the factors discussed in the first section of this chapter, only three showed significant differences between working and non-working students: those of sex, civil status and age on entering Ramkhamhaeng. There were no significant differences on family size and father's income, home province and place of finishing secondary school nor on parents' education. Tables 6.14, 6.15 and 6.16 show the figures for the significant factors.

Table 6.14. Sex of those working and not working.

	Working		Not working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Male	130	60	138	47
Female	85	40	157	53
Overall	215	42	295	58

Table 6.15. Civil status of those working and not working

	Working		Not working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Single	177	84	293	99
Married	34	16	2	1

Table 6.16. Age on entering Ramkhamhaeng of those working and not working

	Working		Not working	
	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	87	44	251	85
21-23	50	25	34	12
over 23	60	30	10	3

The above tables show that a significantly smaller number of females work than males. Those who are working are more likely to be married than those not working and tend to be older when they start university. But when the working students alone are looked at, it is clear that there are many young, newly graduated students in this category too. Thus the university is performing a two-fold function: that of providing a chance first for older students with family responsibilities, who did not have the chance of university education earlier, to study for a degree; and second for younger students to finance themselves, at least partly, through university.

It is surprising that there are no differences between the working and non-working students on the factors of family size and fathers' income. One must conclude that the lower fees of Ramkhamhaeng and the removal of the necessity to live near the university are significant factors financially speaking. However, there is also the added factor that students from rural areas, who are generally from lower-income families, will have difficulty in finding paid employment in the rural areas. Many may help with agricultural work at home but may not have listed this as 'employment' as such if they do not receive a wage. Lower-income urban students will likewise find difficulty in gaining paid employment if they have no 'connections.' Part-time jobs are difficult to find anywhere

in Thailand.

It is also true, of course, that parents are not the only source of money for students; older siblings usually help with the educacational costs of the younger brothers and sisters. In large families, there may be more wage-earners around to help with this and again, the lower cost of studying at Ramkhamhaeng may make paying for the higher education more feasible even though the student is not working.

Two further differences emerge between these two groups (working and not working) on factors not previously discussed: those of place of residence while studying and whether students took the JHEEE or not before going to Ramkhamhaeng. Table 6.17 shows the data for residence while studying.

Table 6.17. Place of residence while studying.

	All students		Working		Not working	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	428	83	158	74	267	91
Elsewhere	87	17	56	26	28	9

Although less than 20% of all students live outside the metropolitan area, the number of those working who do so is larger than those not working. This means, of course, that those people will not be able to attend for lectures but will have to study by themselves using textbooks and media when appropriate. The difficulties of the teaching and learning system for those working and studying is discussed in chapter 7.

The fact that so many students, who do not originally come from Bangkok, move to Bangkok while studying, is rather disappointing

for the university. No doubt this was not the expected outcome of the decision to allow students the choice to attend or not. One rather encouraging sign, however, is the number of first year students who live outside the city, about 32% of the first year sample. Since the first year numbers are so large, this is rather fortunate. The Government is not unaware of the fact that Ramkhamhaeng is contributing to the influx into the city and the opening of Sukhothai Thammathirat University, where there will be no lectures at all and hence no advantage in proximity to the campus, is certainly at least partly a response to this problem. (See postscript to the thesis).

Table 6.18. Students sampled who took JHEEE.

	All students		Working		Not working	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Took	314	63	95	46	219	74
Did not	186	37	110	54	76	26

Table 6.18 shows that more than half the working students did not take the entrance examination for the traditional universities, a significantly larger number than for those not working. This would indicate that Ramkhamhaeng does offer a real alternative to some students as opposed to being merely a last choice. The decision not to take 'entrance' may arise from a number of reasons, the most likely being:

1. that students choose Ramkhamhaeng as their first choice, perhaps <u>because</u> they can work and study and/or

2. that students feel that their chances of success in the 'entrance' examination are slight and hence do not waste their time.

The difference between the groups in Table 6.18 would seem to indicate that the chance to work and study plays a not insignificant role and hence that my first suggested reason is at least partly correct.

Even the second of my suggested reasons would not rule out the idea of positively choosing Ramkhamhaeng. When one considers that only 14,000 students each year will be accepted by the traditional universities, and when one considers the competition for these places, it is clear that many students may opt out of taking the examination for university entrance. Many of the students who do get one of these 14,000 places have had private tuition especially for the JHEEE. There are a large number of colleges which offer this kind of tuition but this is costly. Part of the success of these 14,000 students is clearly due to above average ability but there is a further skill required - that of knowing how to select your six university entrance choices so that you will get a place somewhere. For example, you may want to study Law but the competition is particularly fierce for these places in university. It is possible to use up four or more of your university choices by specifying Law courses but be unsuccessful in all four. If you have also chosen two other highly competitive courses, in the end, you may be left with nothing while people below you on overall JHEEE score but who have chosen much less competitive courses will gain a place at a traditional university. At Ramkhamhaeng, students have a free choice. If you want to study Law, you can do so without having to take the JHEEE at all.

The reasons why students choose to study at Ramkhamhaeng will be examined more closely later but suffice it to say here that the fact that one third of the students sampled did not take 'entrance'

suggests that Ramkhamhaeng is looked on as a real alternative to the traditional universities by some and not always as a last resort.

When one examines the faculties in which the working students are most represented, it is clear that the Law Faculty has significantly more working students than the others (see Table 6.19) and the Humanities Faculty has a lower percentage than the others.

Table 6.19. No. of students working by faculty.

Faculty	No.	%
Law	92	64
Business Administration	34	34
Humanities	9	23
Education	13	31
Science	8	28
Political Science	36	37
Economics	12	24

The presence of a large number of working students in the Law Faculty can be accounted for by two reasons:

1. the fact that law is the kind of subject which lends itself more easily to the distance learning system used by Ramkhamhaeng in that much of the material can be explained clearly and carefully in textbook form. If students are prepared to spend the time reading and rereading the material, they should be able to master the subject matter and although the lectures may be helpful, they are not essential to full understanding. Other subjects such as economics or education require quantitative work or practical exercises for complete understanding, hence are less easily studied

the distance learning methods employed at Ramkhamhaeng.

2. The Law Faculty contains many people already employed in gal-related jobs, for example, many policemen enrol for a law gree as a way of upgrading their professional qualifications. us the Law Faculty is enrolling a considerable number of people an in-service type basis. It is not possible to study on an in- rvice basis at the other universities where full-time attendance required. At Ramkhamhaeng, one can study law and hold a job at e same time, thus financing oneself through university.

In some respects, the presence of a large number of working udents in the Law Faculty is encouraging. The Law Faculty is by r the largest of all the faculties and although the number of aduates produced every year is still not large, in the future, e actual increase in numbers will be relatively large compared the other faculties. At present, the job market can still absorb large number but before long, the market will be saturated. The ct that many of the students are, however, employed, means that e unemployment problem will not be as large as might first be spected.

It might be thought that as the market for law degrees becomes turated, the number of law students will decrease. This is likely to happen since a law degree will remain popular with people all kinds of employment since it is a traditionally high-status gree, as compared to an arts degree for example and, as was pointed t in chapter 3, status is an important consideration in Thailand.

The presence of the large number of working students in the w Faculty produces related differences in personal background ctors such as sex (students are largely male), older age on en-

tering university, larger number of married students and a larger number of students living in provincial areas than other faculties. The Law Faculty also has a larger number of self-supporting students and a larger number who did not take the entrance examination for the traditional universities. (See Tables 6.20, 6.21,6.22. 6.23, 6.24 and 6.25).

Table 6.20. Sex of sampled students by faculty.

Faculty	Male		Female		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
Law	116	81	27	19	143
Business Administration	36	36	63	64	100
Humanities	2	5	37	95	35
Education	13	31	29	69	42
Science	20	69	9	31	29
Political Science	51	53	46	47	97
Economics	22	45	27	55	49

Table 6.21. Age of students on entering by faculty

	under 21		21-23		over 23	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	69	51	30	22	37	27
Business Administration	81	84	9	9	7	7
Humanities	31	84	4	11	2	5
Education	28	69	7	17	6	15
Science	24	89	2	7	1	4
Political Science	66	73	14	15	11	12
Economics	38	81	7	15	2	4

Table 6.22. Civil status of students by faculty.

	Single		Married	
	No.	%	No.	%
Law	117	82	25	18
Business Administration	97	98	2	2
Humanities	39	100	-	-
Education	40	95	2	5
Science	29	100	-	-
Political Science	93	96	4	4
Economics	49	100	-	-

Table 6.23. Residence while studying by faculty.

	Bangkok	
	No.	%
Law	101	72
Business Administration	86	87
Humanities	36	92
Education	37	88
Science	28	97
Political Science	77	79
Economics	44	90

Table 6.24. Source of income for studying by faculty.

	Parents		Savings		Working		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	59	41	7	5	75	52	3	2
Business Administration	78	79	2	2	18	18	1	1
Humanities	31	79	-	-	8	21	-	-
Education	31	74	1	2	8	19	2	5
Science	28	97	-	-	1	3	-	-
Political Science	63	65	3	3	29	30	2	2
Economics	43	88	2	4	4	8	-	-

Table 6.25. Students who took JHEEE by faculty.

	Took JHEEE		Did not	
	No.	%	No.	%
Law	61	45	74	55
Business Administration	76	81	18	19
Humanities	25	64	14	36
Education	18	43	24	57
Science	25	74	4	26
Political Science	55	58	40	52
Economics	40	82	91	18

The last of these tables, that concerning the entrance examination, requires more elaboration and this will be done in the last section of this chapter but some other aspects of the tables also produce interesting information. So far, only the Law Faculty has been mentioned specifically but one other faculty is different in some respects from the others and this is the Humanities Faculty. From Tables 6.19 and 6.20, it is found that the Humanities Faculty has a significantly smaller number of working students and is largely female in make-up. One other difference is observed in Table 6.26, that of father's education.

The numbers are rather small so I do not want to place too much emphasis on them but the indication is that Humanities students come from better educated families (and also higher income families, but the figures are not significant). In some senses, this is to be expected, since the Humanities Faculty is the least vocationally oriented. Low income families no doubt feel the need to have their children enrol in subjects which will lead to employment (and preferably lucrative employment) afterwards, for example, law.

Table 6.26. Father's education by faculty

	below PS 4		PS 4		PS 4-7		MS 1-3		MS 4-5		MS 5+		Univ	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	17	12	48	34	15	11	28	20	8	6	8	6	16	11
Business Administration	20	21	34	35	6	6	23	24	6	6	6	6	2	2
Humanities	3	9	3	9	6	18	5	15	4	12	8	24	5	15
Education	4	10	15	37	8	20	9	22	2	5	2	5	1	2
Science	4	15	8	30	6	22	3	11	2	7	2	7	2	7
Political Science	9	10	21	23	14	15	29	31	4	4	12	13	4	4
Economics	11	23	14	30	5	11	7	15	-	-	5	11	5	11

Psacharopoulos has shown that in developing countries, law graduates have the highest average earnings of all graduates. Table 6. 27 below indicates his findings on this matter.

Table 6.27. Earnings of higher education graduates in developing countries (Earnings of all higher education graduation = 100).

Law	118
Engineering	106
Social Science	104
Arts	94
Science	88
Agriculture	87

Source: G.Psacharopoulos, Higher education in developing countries: a cost-benefit analysis, World Bank, Education Department, Staff Working Paper No.440, (November, 1980), p.45.

But the main inter-faculty difference is undoubtedly that of law as compared to other faculties.

Concluding remarks on sections A and B.

The presence of Ramkhamhaeng then, has fulfilled some of the hopes of the original planners as far as expanding access is concerned. A wider range of people is attending university and the chance to work and study is being taken by a substantial number of students,

However, it must be remembered that Chieng Mai University is performing a similar task to Ramkhamhaeng as far as expanding access is concerned. In some senses of the word, Chieng Mai is also rather 'open' in that it operates a quota policy for regional students.

Ramkhamhaeng has the added advantage of financial saving for students as well as providing a chance for older, working students which a traditional university, such as Chieng Mai, cannot do.

But as with all open universities, this consideration of access is only the tip of the iceberg. The university is seen to be democratic, fair, etc. because of the chance it offers but the real question is how much chance the enrolled students have of succeeding. If the provision of education at a lower level is of a low quality which leaves some students in a position where academically, education at university level is beyond them, then access has only superficially been expanded.

If this is the case, the problem can only be solved at the lower levels of education and we must not be led into the trap of thinking that the access problem has been solved entirely. By expanding the number of university places, we may manage to enlist a larger range of the population in our higher education system. But if most of these people are subsequently unable to complete university because of academic failure, then our open access system has been only superficially successful. It must be remembered that the obtaining of a degree is the ultimate aim of students and the only outcome potential employers are interested in. In fact, if these students do fail to obtain a degree, it could be looked on as rather a waste of resources and money and perhaps we would be better spending the money on traditional and selective universities or on raising the standard of the lower levels so that in the future we could think again about opening up university places.

But if we find that not only is a wider range of the population actually enrolling in university but that they are also succeeding,

then we are justified in many ways in having adopted this kind of expansion. It is important for developing countries that resources are used efficiently. If it is found that the educational level of our wider range of the population is insufficient to meet the academic demands of university education, then perhaps we could say that resources are being used inefficiently, even though the actual costs are low relative to other kinds of higher education provision.

This issue of the continuing success of the students reached by open universities such as Ramkhamhaeng is an important part of the access question for developing countries and this aspect will be developed in more detail in chapter 8.

Before concluding this chapter, however, I would like to take a further look at the question of access by investigating the reasons why students choose to go to Ramkhamhaeng at all.

The motivation of students in going to Ramkhamhaeng.

One of the problems of an open university is that it is quite often regarded with suspicion by people outside the university itself. The fact that it has different entrance qualifications from traditional universities leads many people to conclude that the standard of the students must necessarily be lower. This has been a particular problem at Ramkhamhaeng where the system of entry is very open.

University education in Thailand is highly rated in the country and the universities themselves carry different prestige ratings according to age and past achievements; for example, Chulalongkorn University is probably the university most highly rated by the

general population. However correct or incorrect these evaluations are, Ramkhamhaeng has had to face the problem of being a 'second-class' university in the eyes of many. Discussions with many people, both within and without the university system, lead me to think that this has now changed somewhat since the graduates of the university have been successful in many of the public examinations, for example, Civil Service Examinations, Bar Examinations, etc. (See chapter 8).

When people discuss the students of Ramkhamhaeng, however, they argue that many of them have tried to get into one of the traditional universities by taking the JHEEE but have not been successful. Ramkhamhaeng is for them the last choice after all other places have rejected them. Hence Ramkhamhaeng has a lower quality of student than the closed universities.

However, for one who understands the JHEEE system, this is only partially convincing. Part of the success in 'passing' entrance is in choosing the 'correct' universities when applying. Many of the students who do not get into the closed universities are as able as those who do but were attempting to get into faculties and universities where competition was extremely fierce.

It is also true, however, that there are many students at Ramkhamhaeng who do not match the standard of the students at the closed universities. This, again, however, does not mean that they are not capable of completing university education. It only means that they are not within the very highest range of ability in the country.

Failure to get into one of the closed universities is only one reason for going to Ramkhamhaeng. There may be other reasons why students choose Ramkhamhaeng as opposed to other universities. Table 6.28 looks at the students' responses to the question: "Why

did you choose to study at Ramkhamhaeng?" Eighty-four percent of the sample answered the question.

Table 6.28. Reasons given for choosing Ramkhamhaeng.

	No.	of those answering
Unable to get into closed universities	189	43
Can work and study	119	27
Attendance not required	60	14
Fees reasonable/cheaper than other institutions	54	12
All universities are the same standard	47	11
It's an open university	47	11
No entrance examination required	31	7

Undoubtedly, the largest single reason is that students wanted to go to other universities but could not. But even then, less than one half of the respondents gave this as their reason. It is likely, however, that some of the students who answered the question did not want to say that 'failing' entrance was their reason. From Table 6.18, for example, we can see that 63% of the sample had actually taken entrance.

What is perhaps of more interest is that for first year students, this number drops to 43%, i.e. only 43% of the new intake sampled in 1979 had taken entrance at all. Is is useful here to try to isolate the reasons for this. Table 6.29 indicates the number of students who took JHEEE by year. From the figures in this table, it is clear that the first year students differ significantly from the other three years which do not differ from each other. It is possible to conclude one of two things here:

1. that the 1979 intake differs from the intake in previous years on this factor

2. that students who take entrance drop out in proportionately fewer numbers than those who do not in first year, but once past first year, those who take JHEEE do not differ from those who do not in 'staying power.'

It is not possible to decide which interpretation is correct without doing a follow-up after one year, of the 1979 first year students. It may be true that those who attempt the JHEEE are those with higher ability. Undoubtedly, many of the students who did not take entrance, did not take it because they realised their chances of success were extremely low. But the figures for years 2-4 indicate that there are many also who positively choose now to go to Ramkhamhaeng. They realise that Ramkhamhaeng offers a real chance for anyone with ability who is prepared to work hard. Access is open, but after that, the onus rests with each individual to pursue the chance given.

Table 6.29. Students who took JHEEE by year.

	1st year		2nd year		3rd year		4th year	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Took JHEEE	63	43	63	68	73	69	87	73
Did not	84	57	29	32	33	31	32	27

Ramkhamhaeng has, I believe, at least at this 'superficial' level, been highly successful as far as opening up access is concerned. People, who before would not have had the chance to go to university, are now given that chance; people from poor families who could not otherwise afford university; people who cannot go to university straight after school; all now have the chance. This,

in itself, is a major achievement for a developing country but it is not the only achievement of Ramkhamhaeng as succeeding chapters will show. Nor is it an achievement which is achievable in Thailand only. Other developing countries, given the initiative, might achieve similar results. I would like to reserve discussion of the general implications of Ramkhamhaeng for the final chapter. Meanwhile, let us turn to a consideration of the educational system of the university.

Notes and references

1. A.Meesook, Problems of educational inequalities in Thailand, Working document for the IIEP/Inter-Agency Seminar on Inequalities in Educational Development, 1978, (Paris: IIEP, 1978), p.3.

2. loc.cit.

3. S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.72.

4. See N.Bennett, Educational reform in Thailand, Education in Asia (Bangkok), 1975, vol.8, for a fuller account of the proposed reforms.

5. C.Buripakdi and P.Mahakhan, Thailand, in T.N.Postlethwaite and R.M.Thomas, Schooling in the Asean region, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), p.268.

6. See chapter 5 for the rationale behind the creation of Ramkhamhaeng.

7. N.McIntosh, The OU student, in J.Tunstall (ed.), The Open University opens, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p.60.

8. See N.E.McIntosh, A degree of difference, (Surrey, England: Society for Research into Higher Education at the University of Surrey, 1976), p.135.

Chapter 7. The teaching-learning system at Ramkhamhaeng.

As outlined in chapter 5, the teaching-learning system has three basic components: lectures on a formal and regular basis at the main campus, textbooks and specially printed 'sheets' (lecture notes), and the use of the mass media, i.e. radio and television. I intend to take each of these in turn and look at the opinions of the students and the staff on the usefulness and effectiveness of these methods of teaching. I will also look at the general problems of students at Ramkhamhaeng as compared to Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai students and at specific problems, such as lack of contact between staff and students and the special problems of distance learners. I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of another aspect of the teaching-learning system, that of the attitudes and activities of the staff with respect to research, an area which is given particular prominence by the university when thinking of quality in the teaching-learning system.

1. The lectures

In the light of the discussion of open university methods in chapter 2, it may seem strange to start off a discussion of one particular open university's methods of teaching by talking of formal lectures. But, as has been pointed out, Ramkhamhaeng is rather different from the Western concept of an open university; unlike the British Open University, for example, it has components of both a traditional method of teaching and an open university method of teaching. In reality, my questionnaire and interview studies indicate that both the students and the staff consider that the formal lectures are the core of the whole system.

When the university was first established, it was not expected that the lectures would be the focal part of the teaching. Teachers and administrators who have been at Ramkhamhaeng from the start all mention the fact that there has been a radical change in the emphasis of the university since it opened. As mentioned in chapter 5, at the start, only about one third to one quarter of the initial enrolees chose to attend the lectures offered by the university but at the present time, the university estimates that more than 60% of students now wish to attend.

Tha main reason for this is the change in the composition of the student body over the years; at the start, it was composed of a large number of 'mature' students who were making up for lost opportunities earlier. Now, however, the main body of enrolees is newly graduated secondary school leavers. Many of them are using Ramkhamhaeng as an alternative to the traditional universities (and often a second best). If they had got in to a closed university, thay would have been required to attend for 80% of the lectures. Ramkhamhaeng may offer more freedom of choice but there is still the feeling that 'being at university' means going to lectures regularly.

In the first five to six years of the university's life, the provision of lectures was not a problem, both because the percentage of students choosing to attend was lower than now but also because the actual numbers of students were small enough for the university to be able to accommodate students in lecture rooms.

Before discussing some of the problems, both academic and logistic, with the provision of lectures, it is important to look at the students' and lecturers' attitudes towards lectures. Table 7.1 below indicates the percentage of students responding to two open-ended

questions:

1. What do you think are the main disadvantages in studying at Ramkhamhaeng?

2. Can you give suggestions as to how to improve the system at Ramkhamhaeng?

Table 7.1. Percentage of sample responding to two open-ended questions

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Complaints	478	93	297	96	98	87.5
Suggestions	433	84	267	87	89	79

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 indicate the kind and number of responses made. Percentages refer to the number of people who answered the question and do not add to 100 since students made multiple responses.

It is clear from the tables that the overriding concern of the students presently studying, graduates and dropouts is related to the number of students and the facilities for lectures at the university. (The third concern, that of lack of contact between staff and students, will be discussed in a later section). The lack of lecture rooms is also reflected in the complaint that there are not enough seats in lecture rooms and the fact that students have physically to fight to get into lectures.

A word of explanation here would clarify these last two points. As was explained in chapter 5, the system of giving lectures is operated by beaming live lectures via closed-circuit television to various lecture rooms around campus. The university attempts as far as possible to have enough lecture rooms available, and enough seats in these lecture rooms for students to be able to sit comfortably within sight of a live lecturer or a television screen.

Table 7.2. Number and kind of complaints listed by present students, graduates and dropouts

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Too many students	135	28	75	25	16	16
Lack of lecture rooms	133	28	63	21	14	14
Lack of contact between staff and students	72	15	70	24		
Fighting to get into lectures	42	9	24	8		
Bad groups take advantage of students	31	6	21	7		
Lack of seats in lecture rooms	27	6				
Selfishness among students	25	5				
No control over student behaviour	17	4	20	7		
Lack of textbooks	18	4	18	6		
Must show self-control or will fail	14	3	18	6		
Lack of contact between students			21	7		
Quality of education not good	17	4				
People look down on Ramkhamhaeng	16	3				
Lack of facilities	14	3				
Student services not good enough	14	3				
Lecture rooms not clean	14	3				
Bad behaviour among students	13	3				

Note: Only 30 of the dropouts' responses are listed. The remaining complaints were more individual in nature and hence too numerous to mention here.

However, since students have the option to attend class or not, the university can never be sure how many students will attend on any one day for any one course. It is possible to underestimate drastically the number of students attending. For example, English

Table 7.3. Number and kind of suggestions listed by present students, graduates and dropouts

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Increase number of lecture rooms	155	36	73	27	15	17
Increase number of textbooks	66	15	58	22	9	10
Limit intake	53	12	47	18		
More contact between staff and students	42	10	36	13		
Increase use of media	32	7			12	13
Increase number of lecturers	38	9				
Increase number of lectures	32	7				
Get books out faster	21	5	21	8		
Improve quality of textbooks	15	3	21	8		
Expand library	20	5				
Improve/clean up lecture rooms	18	4				
Improve student behaviour	17	4				
Have regulations on dress	17	4				
Improve standard of teaching	17	4				
Increase number of seats in lecture rooms	16	4				
Improve standard of administrative staff	15	3				
Set up regional centres	15	3				
Increase facilities/equipment	13	3				

101, the introductory English course, has approximately 100,000 students enrolled. When dealing with numbers of this size, it is impossible to make an accurate assessment on any one day as to how many students will attend. An underestimation of 2,000 may not be large in terms of percentages but the physical presence of an extra

2,000 students all trying to get into lecture rooms is a serious problem.

Many students can be seen sitting outside lecture rooms, listening and taking notes without being able to see what work the lecturer may be explaining on the blackboard. For some courses, for example, law and political science, this may not be important. But for other courses, for example, economics and mathematics, it may be important to see what the instructor is doing. Thus often students will definitely want to get a seat in lecture rooms which means that physical fighting or at least mild pushing may be essential to get in.

This concern with the number of students and its effect on lecture room provision is common to all faculties and all years. When an analysis of the student responses was broken down by faculty, complaints were the same across the board with two minor exceptions. The Business Faculty students and graduates showed little concern about the number of students at the university but their most common complaints were otherwise the same as for the other groups. The second exception was that of the Education graduates who were the only group not concerned with the lack of lecture rooms, their main complaint being the number of students and the lack of contact between staff and students.

This last difference may reflect the nature of education courses, many of which are teacher-training based. In this case, students may feel that the contact with staff is important in learning how to teach, as opposed to formal academic lectures which explain the principles only.

As far as suggestions are concerned, the law and political science graduates gave top priority to increasing the number of text-

books available but increasing the number of lecture rooms was the second priority. The Law and Political Science Faculties will stand out from the other faculties from various points of view. Suffice it to say that at present they were the only faculties where the staff were reasonably satisfied with the teaching-learning system. The reasons for this will be discussed later.

It is clear, then, that for a large number of the students the lectures given at the university are a very important part of their university education. I would like to suggest three reasons why this should be so:

(a) the method of teaching at primary and secondary levels

(b) the attitudes of the lecturers towards lectures

(c) the quality of the other components of the teaching-learning system

(a) the method of teaching at the primary and secondary levels

This is a very formalised classroom situation of teacher and blackboard. Students listen, absorb information from the teacher and reproduce it in examinations. There is little chance or encouragement to do much self-study, research work or to engage in discussions of an academic nature. It is only fair to point out, however, that this description of secondary schooling could be applied to many countries around the world; Thailand is not particularly exceptional in this. It is thus rather optimistic to expect students to begin university and adopt a completely different method of studying at once. If learning from the teachers has always been acceptable and, indeed, successful in the past, there would seem to be no reason to change this when one attends university. If one was forced not to attend class, the situation would undoubtedly be different. But given the choice, students will decide to attend lectures when pos-

sible.

In most countries in the world, eighteen year olds going to university are not expected suddenly to begin studying on their own. This is a technique which it is hoped they will develop over their university careers. The Open University of the UK attempted an experimental project of enrolling 18-year olds in their distance-learning courses. This was later abandoned on the ground that 18-year olds were not ready to adopt this style of studying.[1] The Thai 18-year olds are no different. They, too, feel that lectures are an important source of what they have to learn so that attending lectures is an important part of their method of studying.

(b) the attitudes of the staff. A second reason for the importance of lectures to students must come from the importance the staff attribute to their lectures as a method of studying. Firstly, it should be pointed out that, almost without exception, the lecturers are graduates of the Thai closed universities and have had no training or experience of open university techniques apart from any private reading they have done. This does not mean that the staff are not aware of what these techniques are. In interviewing the staff, I was impressed by the understanding of the staff as to what is the place of their lectures in the teaching-learning at Ramkhamhaeng and what it ought to be if Ramkhamhaeng was a 'real' open university.

But the opinion of the staff is that Ramkhamhaeng is not a 'real' open university. Most people were not sure what it was and hence worked in the university, either according to their own interpretations and understanding of the system or, more often, in the only way that it was practical to operate, given the number and variety of students they had to deal with. For most of them, the

academic year was a race against time; getting a series of lectures organised, and, if possible, a textbook to go with the lectures, giving the lectures, preparing for and supervising the examinations, and then spending a month or so marking the examinations by which time they were probably at the beginning or well into the next semester's teaching. New teachers felt that they had no time to think; more experienced teachers felt they had but got no lead from the higher levels of administration as to how they could improve on what they were doing.

As far as the importance and usefulness of lectures was concerned, the lecturers held various opinions, usually according to the faculty in which they were teaching. The Science Faculty stands out from all the other faculties in that it is run almost entirely like a science faculty in a closed university. The justification for this was, naturally enough, that practical work was essential. Students, in fact, cannot pass at all without attending for practical work, even in the basic courses and since lectures and practical work are tied together, lecture attendance is essential. Science classes are also relatively small; an advanced biology or mathematics class may have as few as 6-10 students. For the first year courses, the practical work is carried out after the examinations; only those who pass the examinations will be asked to do the practical work also.

The other faculties can be divided into three groups. The teachers in the Business, Education and Economics Faculties felt that attendance was essential to passing the courses and this opinion again reflected the importance of practical work in the wide sense of the word. For Business and Economics lecturers, it was felt that the quantitative work needed lectures for explanatory purposes. Stu-

dents could sit at home and read all the books they wanted but only if they came to lectures would they really understand what the subjects were about.

Lecturers in these three faculties also admitted that they generally drew examination questions from the lectures they had given, broadly speaking, although it was not a question of regurgitating lecture notes; it required application of the kind of topics covered in lectures. Before passing any judgment on this, the reader should read the third section below on the quality of the other sources of knowledge.

The Humanities Faculty was mixed in its feelings about the importance of lectures, the feeling being that for example, in language teaching, it was not possible to learn entirely from a textbook at university level, unless the lecturer was prepared to compromise on what he would teach; for example, learning to speak a language was definitely 'out.' Other subjects in this faculty did, however, lend themselves to being taught without lectures, for example, history and philosophy. But again, the general feeling was that it was easier for students if they attended lectures.

The Law and Political Science Faculties were more satisfied with the kind of learning and teaching that could be done without lectures. The opinion was that, as with all faculties, lectures made it easier for the students, if only because it pointed out the main areas of interest in each subject, but that well-written textbooks and other printed material were sufficient if students were prepared to work hard. If any faculties were prepared for abandoning lectures entirely, it was these two. Most of the staff made a point of saying that their examination material was drawn from textbooks and did not depend on attendance at lectures at all.

It is clear, then, that there was a wide range of opinions from the lecturers on the usefulness and importance of lectures. In general, one would have to say, however, that the staff's emphasis on lectures must certainly have contributed to the students' concern with attending but the converse may also be true.

But in interviewing the staff, it was often clear that they felt that they had no choice in stressing the importance of lectures. The following section explains why.

(c) the quality of the other teaching media available. If lectures were not to play an important part in the system, then some other form of teaching would have to be used instead, for example, specially written textbooks and/or radio and television programmes. But if these were not up to the required standard, the system would have to fall back on the lectures until the other media were better prepared. In fairness to the staff of the Education, Economics and Business Faculties, most of them said that they realised the books they had written were not sufficiently good, or, in fact, that there were no books for some courses which meant that the lectures took on greater importance than they should have. The availability and quality of books is discussed more fully in the next section.

To summarise, then, on the use of lectures, both staff and students placed great stress on their importance for the reasons given above. The higher levels of administration, i.e. from the level of Dean upwards, felt that this was a fault and arose from incomplete understanding by the lecturers as to what Ramkhamhaeng was supposed to be doing. As was said earlier, the staff would have agreed with this but they felt that the situation arose because the higher levels of administration gave no lead as to what the lecturers ought to be doing or even where they were going to find

the time to do it.

The problem seems to start from the opening of Ramkhamhaeng in 1971. The university opened very soon after the Act was passed with little forward planning. It was assumed that there would be time, once they got started, to develop a system of programmed textbooks and media materials which would provide a real alternative to lectures for students who wanted it.

This time has never materialised. From the start, the university has been under pressure from larger numbers of students than was originally expected. Planning and development has thus been a rather haphazard, makeshift operation, coping usually with immediate difficulties rather than looking to the future. The importance of the closed university technique of formal lecturing has increased, not decreased, over the years. Part of this arises from sheer numbers of students causing staff to be overworked on several counts (see a later section in this chapter), thus having little time for preparation of self-study materials, but part of it comes from perhaps overoptimistic expectations as to what students were able to do. Most of the staff, in the end, said that they had grave doubts as to the efficacy of a truly open university system for Thailand if the student population was to be 18-year olds. This must obviously be a concern for other developing countries intending to open up open universities as an economic alternative to closed universities and is certainly supported by the findings of the British Open University and less specifically by those of James and Arboleda.[2] (The university has responded to the student demand/requirement for lectures by opening a second campus in Bangkok, in August, 1980. This provides lecture room space for mainly first and second year

subjects. The university is also hoping that in two years time, when new enrolments have stabilised, that they will return to the original pattern of three hours of lectures for a three-unit course per week).

2. Textbooks and printed material

All textbooks used specifically for Ramkhamhaeng courses are printed in the university by the University Press. These books are then sold as cheaply as possible by the university bookstore to the students. All lecturers are encouraged to write textbooks specifically for their courses. This means that the university is a major book producer every year. It is not uncommon for students from other universities to buy textbooks from Ramkhamhaeng since:

1. They are all in Thai.

2. They are written for specific courses, as opposed to being general textbooks covering material which may or may not be examinable.

3. They are cheap.

There are several incentives for staff to write textbooks, not the least of which is the financial gain (about 10% of the book's selling price goes directly to the author). When one is teaching a very large group of students, a sizeable number of whom can be relied upon to buy the textbook, this gain is not inconsiderable. Furthermore, with the introduction of the new regulations for promotion (see Appendix 4), writing a course textbook is almost required if one is to move up the ladder at all.

Before looking specifically at the problem areas for the provision of textbooks, it is worthwhile to see what the students' opinion on this matter is. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 should again be re-

ferred to here.

As far as complaints go, the textbooks figure fairly well down the list for all of the groups. But as far as suggestions go, there appears to be more concern. Table 7.3 shows that increasing the number of textbooks is the second priority for present students and graduates and the graduates especially follow this up with the suggestion that the quality of the books could be improved. Both groups are concerned that books should be published faster.

What is being specifically referred to here in the last two suggestions is:

1. that often textbooks are produced so late in the semester that students have only one or two weeks to read them before the examinations and

2. that the graduates would like to see books which could be used for self-study purposes to a greater extent, thus reducing the dependence on lectures but also that they would like to see textbooks remaining the same for any course for a number of years, if they are good, and not being changed if the lecturer for the course changes.

This constant changing of textbooks is a rather unfortunate outcome of both the financial gain from the textbooks and the importance of textbook writing for promotion. The university has tried to combat the problem slightly by saying that if a lecturer designates someone else's textbook, he will receive 30% of the royalties and the author 70%. This has only a minimal effect on the writing of new textbooks, since there still remains the importance of textbook writing for promotion. Almost everyone interviewed by me was busy writing textbooks for his courses.

There were no differences between faculties and years on this issue amongst the students, apart from the Business Faculty students who rarely mentioned textbooks at all. This could indicate that the textbook situation is very good in this faculty but I suspect that it is rather a reflection of the concentration on the use of formal lectures.

The textbook problems can be divided into two strands: the practical problem of quantity and the more academic issue of quality.

(a) the practical problems. The printing press of the university does all the textbook printing since the university does not allow outside companies to take a part, mainly for reasons of cost. The fact that the university press is wholly responsible is not, in itself, a problem; the press is modern, up-to-date and manages to turn out about two million books a year and five million 'sheets' (lecture notes) for lecture courses. The problems arise in the estimation of the number of books to print, the fact that all books must be reprinted every year and the amount of advance warning the press has of work to be done.

The main complaint of the press is that they are not able to do any planning at all, i.e. the number of books to be printed each year depends on the number of students who enrol in each course. The university has no way of knowing in advance at present how many students will want to enrol each year, particularly at the first-year level. All estimations of future enrolments have been gross underestimations to date, although the university is better than most at making the predictions. The Office of University Affairs, which carries out estimates of future enrolments in order to recommend budget allocations, has been consistently wrong for many years (see chapter 5).

When enrolments are complete, the bookstore is then in a position to order a certain number of books to be printed for each course. The system for estimating these num ers is to count the number of students enrolled in the first semester in each course, then multiply by three so as to cover themselves for the three semesters (including summer). These estimations are often wrong, the bookstore suggests, because many outsiders buy Ramkhamhaeng books also. But they have no way of knowing from year to year how many this will account for. If books run out, re-ordering from the press can take some time, mainly because the press will already be working full out to produce books for other courses, printing examinations, etc. by that time.

If it were possible, the press would like to be able to run off a sufficient number of copies to cover more than one year's demand. But this is not possible, since the lecturer for any course may change from year to year. If the lecturer changes, the textbooks will almost certainly change too since everyone is eager to write his own textbook. It is not clear how this problem could be solved apart from putting a ban on the publishing of new textbooks within certain time limits. To do this would require some kind of quality control so as not to perpetuate the production of a 'bad' book when a new lecturer could be capable of writing a better one.

(b) the quality of textbooks. But the quality of the textbooks themselves is more of a problem. Since there is so much incentive to write books, a large number of books is simply 'thrown together.' One cannot blame it entirely on the material interests of the staff. If there are no textbooks for certain courses, there is a further pressure on lecturers to produce any kind of book which will be of help to students, especially those who cannot attend lectures re-

gularly.

Most of the staff themselves mentioned this as a problem. They often felt dissatisfied with what they had written but pointed out that, under the circumstances, it was the best they could do. Many expressed a desire to revise their original efforts but realistically said that it was unlikely that they would have the time to do this for some years.

But the quality of the content is not the only problem. Textbooks required for a university such as Ramkhamhaeng, where students may have to depend on the books as the only source of information, must take a different form from textbooks of a more traditional university, where books are supplemented by lectures and perhaps tutorials, and written work for all students. Clearly this is a particularly important consideration for Ramkhamhaeng's distance learners.

The situation of Ramkhamhaeng makes the use of student written work and tutorials rather a luxury. Students, both distance learners and regular attenders, thus have to rely on the books both as a source of information and as a source of self-assessment. This means that, for example, programmed texts might be of more use than a straightforward textbook in some subjects. Few of the staff at Ramkhamhaeng have any knowledge or experience of this kind of textbook writing. The university does provide periodic seminars on writing books for this purpose but when there are 1,000 courses offered, it is impossible to do a check on how successful the textbook writing seminars are. Much of the initiative must come from the individual lecturers.

Ramkhamhaeng has also been criticised for the amount of material it offers students. Brahmawong, as early as 1974, pointed out that

providing one textbook for a course was not sufficient for university level education, particularly for the distance learners who use only this material.[3] In defence of Ramkhamhaeng, it could be argued that one textbook in Thai is, however, infinitely preferable to a list of textbooks in English, as suggested by some of the other universities for similar courses. At least, Ramkhamhaeng is realistic enough to know that the English abilities of undergraduates are not high. Ramkhamhaeng could perhaps be called the pioneer in textbook writing in Thai, since almost all of the textbooks (with the exception of advanced level science textbooks) are in the native language.

But the Ramkhamhaeng lecturers are also, perhaps, more realistic in another way, i.e. in knowing exactly what to expect of their students. Although, in general, most staff members interviewed said that they recommended a list of books for students to cover, in reality, they thought that most students studied only one (the basic text), and perhaps looked at two or three more. Nor did they feel that this was particularly different from what happened at the closed universities. All in all, they felt that the average Ramkhamhaeng graduate had done as much reading as a graduate from any other university.

This accords with the oral evidence I have from a large number of students from the other universities. A specially-written textbook for a course usually covers material drawn from a variety of sources by the author. In the end, what you have is a tailor-made handbook covering all the main issues and giving students guidance as to where supplementary material can be found. This is no different from directing students to two or three textbooks in order to read certain appropriate chapters or sections. Much, however, depends

on the quality of these tailor-made books.

When the textbook system is a problem, one would hope that the library would make up for its deficiencies. The library at Ramkhamhaeng has a stock of books of approximately 160,000 volumes, 110,000 in Thai and 50,000 in English. It also takes 221 Thai journals and 125 in English and 11 Thai and four English language newspapers. Library statistics show that approximately 20,000 people use the library each day (although some of these are the same people a number of times) and about 110,000 books are borrowed every month. Books can be borrowed for one week only, so that the relatively small number of books is kept constantly in circulation. All textbooks for courses are part of the library collection.

The library resources are thus not large but Ramkhamhaeng library is the largest in the country. It must be remembered that there is not a large number of books actually written in Thai on the kind of specialised subjects universities deal in. The best service, as far as books are concerned, which the library provides, is probably the keeping of a substantial number of the textbooks for each course; for example, for some well-subscribed courses, the library may have 50 copies of the textbook for that course. Most students, however, will be able to buy their own copies of textbooks or join together with friends. A standard text would be sold for approximately 15 baht (35p). There are other problems with the library service but these will be mentioned later.

3. The media

The status of the use of the media (i.e. radio and television) is indicated in chapter 5. Table 7.4 gives the percentage of stu-

dents in various groups who make use of the media lectures. (All information quoted in the table comes from the questionnaires).

Table 7.4. Percentage of sampled students who use the Ramkhamhaeng media programmes and number of hours they make use of them.

Category of students	Radio		T.V.	
	% who use it at all	Average hrs/wk used	% who use it at all	Average hrs/wk used
Overall	42	6	17	3
All first year	60	5	30	4
All second year	50	6	16	2
All third year	33	6	10	2
All fourth year	21	8	4	6
Law Faculty	46	6	13	4
Bus. Admin. Faculty	49	6	22	3
Humanities Faculty	31	6	15	4
Education Faculty	33	6	21	4
Science Faculty	31	7	24	2
Pol. Science Faculty	46	6	11	2.5
Economics Faculty	27	6	14	4
Those working/studying	46	6	15	4
Those not working	38	6.5	16	3

The overall percentage of those using the media is encouraging when we take into account that not all courses are allocated media time. Since the university offers over 1,000 courses, this would not be possible. The courses covered in Bangkok are: all first year courses, all required second year courses and third and fourth year

courses which have large numbers of students enrolled. If a course has more than 5,000 students, it will probably be allocated a radio lecture series. In addition, courses with a high failure rate are also often allocated media time. In general, the university uses television only for courses which benefit from visual displays, for example, science courses, accounting courses, etc. A radio lecture series consists of eight lectures of one-half hour each and the lecturer who gives the course on campus will also give the radio lectures.

When this information is taken into account, the figures for the different years take on a new meaning. The fact that 81% of first-year students sampled used the radio programmes is rather encouraging from the university's point of view. The discouraging figure is the relatively low percentage of those working who use the radio and television programmes. One would expect that since those working cannot attend lectures, they would make more use of the media broadcasts than those not working. (The media broadcasts are a shortened version of the live campus lectures in most cases). But my research shows that this is not the case.

However, part of the problem at least is due to scheduling times. The television lectures, for example, are broadcast in the afternoon, at a time when many of those working would be unable to watch. There is nothing the university can do about this. Television channels are understandably reluctant to allocate their prime viewing time to Ramkhamhaeng programmes. Furthermore, the cost of buying television time is already high. Broadcasting at times more convenient to the student, for example, in the evening, would be much more expensive. Already the university feels that it cannot afford financially to increase its television hours at all.

The radio lectures are scheduled differently, early in the morning and later in the evening, at more appropriate times. Even then, working hours being as they are in Thailand a large number of people will be unable to use this service. Only if one possesses a tape recorder and a willing friend would it thus be possible to listen.

The university is, however, well aware of this problem and provides an additional tape service to students. All radio lectures are taped and students can request a copy of these tapes from the university. Students provide their own tapes but the university will re-record the material on to these tapes free of charge. If the university was to charge, it would increase the cost of studying considerably for distance learners particularly. The recording of tapes is a service offered by the library which has a number of machines and staff allocated specifically for this purpose. They estimate that they do approximately 100,000 tapes for students per semester.

The main problem with the tape service is pressure of work. At busy times, two thousand tapes a day may be received for reproduction. There will thus be a backlog of material for perhaps several weeks. Obviously more tape machines and more staff would be an advantage. The reason why this is not happening is money. The university must support the audio-visual department almost entirely from its own revenue. The Government Budget allocation for this purpose is approximately 200,000 baht per year while the audio-visual department requests three million.

But a more basic problem with the media programmes is their quality. Almost everyone in the university admits that the quality is of a low standard. The audio-visual department attempts to advise

staff on what kind of lectures are appropriate for the media but since few of the lecturers have any experience of the use of educational radio or television, this training will take some time. At the moment, each faculty is responsible for orienting its staff in the use of the media but there is a general feeling that this is not enough.

The quality of the Ramkhamhaeng television programmes is particularly badly thought of in the university, although they get a very good response from the general public for their programmes. As was discussed in chapter 2, educational television broadcasting is an extremely skilled technique requiring experience and coordination between the broadcasters and the educators. As yet Ramkhamhaeng still lacks this experience. A second problem is that programmes are recorded at the television studios on a one-off basis with no possibility of improving them when they are complete. They are also done live.

In the near future, the university hopes to have completed its own recording studio where it will be possible to re-record programmes until everyone is satisfied. Video tapes will then be sent to the television studios for broadcasting. Presumably, this development would also open up a facility for training staff in the use of educational television.

The general feeling of the staff in all faculties was that there was not much to be gained by the students from the radio lectures but that it was better than nothing and was a good public relations exercise for the university. In general, staff were dissatisfied with the work they did but their main complaint was that it was impossible to summarise a whole semester's work in eight half-hour lectures.

This would seem to show a lack of understanding as to what use could be made of the eight half-hour lectures. Only one person interviewed expressed satisfaction with the radio lectures he gave and his suggestion was that staff members should isolate eight areas of particular interest and give a lecture on these as opposed to attempting to cover the whole course content.

This would seem to be the obvious course to take, since in any case, the students have a textbook tailored exactly to what the lecturer is covering (or will have in the future). The radio lectures could isolate certain points in the books, which may not have been well handled there or could be used for amplifying points which regularly cause student problems in examinations. Furthermore, since these lectures are basically intended for those who cannot attend, more note should be taken of their problems. Lecturers do receive letters from students (although admittedly not many) asking for clarification or guidance in certain areas. This correspondence could be used for designing radio lectures too.

The university itself is aware that it should employ or consult expert help in the use of the media. There is some expertise in Thailand in this area though little at the level of university education. But Thailand has for many years offered adult literacy and adult education programmes by use of radio. But, as yet, no steps have been taken in this direction. When the staff themselves are not experienced enough and hence not keen enough to do this kind of teaching, the students cannot be expected to benefit from it. Part of the reason for the relatively low participation rates of students may be the quality of the programmes.

However, other reasons may also account for this. As Bates

points out, lack of participation may be due to students being overloaded with reading, or having fallen behind in the schedule so that they are not sufficiently prepared to be able to understand the programmes when transmitted.[4]

The quality of the media programmes did not come under attack much by the students as can be seen from Tables 7.2 and 7.3. But what is interesting is that increasing the use of the media was a suggestion which figured high on the list (see Table 7.3) particularly for students presently studying and those who had dropped out. The fact that the dropouts mentioned this may be an indication that lack of media programmes contributed to their desire or necessity to leave the university. The suggestion figured particularly highly for those who had been working and studying and had dropped out. Thus the media programmes do seem to be appreciated by the working students.

Amongst those presently studying, the working students again were those who requested more media broadcasting time. The suggestion also figured highly among law and business students who already show fairly high participation rates. This, despite the fact that the Business Faculty lecturers were almost unanimous in their feelings of dissatisfaction with media teaching for business subjects. The desire of the Law students is probably explained by the fact that over half of the enrolled students are working and studying. But this is not true of the Business Faculty.

The overall question of the use of the media is fairly important for open universities. But the role the media play in the actual learning process is rather vague. As Naficy points out, not enough is known about the effects of the broadcast media nor is there any substantial agreement on the kind (if any) of learning that

takes place using media.[5] There seems, however, to be a general feeling that 'it does some good.'

Much of the justification for using the media is concerned with the loneliness of the long-distance learner. It is felt that the media boost students' morale, make them feel that they are not studying in a vacuum as it were, as well as providing them with some direct contact with the university (see chapter 2). Bates, for example, points out that British Open University research has shown that listening and viewing figures are significantly affected by a variety of factors, some totally unconnected with the broadcasts themselves.[6]

But, in the case of Ramkhamhaeng, when only half of the students who would be expected to make use of the radio programmes (i.e. those working and hence not able to attend lectures) actually use it, there appears to be some doubt as to the usefulness of the media.

It is very possible that the students find studying by the use of the media a difficult thing to adjust to. Certainly this was an impression gained from the staff interviewed at Ramkhamhaeng. They thought that, since students had never used any other form of studying apart from textbooks and classes, they might not be able to use the media effectively. Whether this is the case or not would require further research. Bates again expresses awareness of this kind of problem:

> "The introduction of educational radio and television can - and usually does - mean major disruptions and changes in organisation and attitudes within a country. These may turn out to be culturally and socially alien." (7)

The only other indication (apart from the questionnaires quoted earlier) of student attitudes towards the use of the media comes

from a survey done in 1977 by the Education Faculty at Ramkhamhaeng. This was the year when students in first year could not attend lectures because of the pressure of numbers but had to use mainly textbooks and media programmes (although some summary lectures were given by the staff at regular intervals). They found that in general students felt positively about the media programmes but they only sampled students who passed enough units in that year to continue at the university.[8]

Since the usefulness of the media is not clear, more research should be done before any general conclusions can be drawn as to the place they should hold in an open university system. It would be especially interesting to see how useful they are as media for new secondary school graduates.

This discussion of the media has not thrown much extra light on the use of the media problem stated in chapter 2. However, it does give a general overall impression of what attitudes are towards the use of educational radio and television in Thailand. One must, however, stress that the presence of an extensive lecture system at Ramkhamhaeng reduces the importance of the media usage here. More valuable information should be available after the opening of Sukhothai Thammathirat University, where no traditional lectures will be given.

Clearly the use of the media in Ramkhamhaeng in particular and open universities in general requires further research. At present, most open universities incorporate radio and television broadcasting as part of their teaching system but without any clear idea of how useful or how effective they are. The media may provide the only direct contact a student has with an academic environment if the

student is studying at a distance in a rather isolated community. Entwistle says that motivation for students is likely to be helped by providing opportunities to listen to or watch experts thinking about their work or discussing issues with colleagues.[9]

Since there are no hard and fast rules for media usage, it is important that questions are asked about the relevance of the media for each particular case. For example, in the case of Ramkhamhaeng, research is needed into what the student needs are and how the students handle media programmes. It may become necessary to instruct both staff and students into effective use of radio and television programmes but until more research is carried out, the question of media improvement cannot be tackled usefully.

Having discussed the main components of the teaching-learning system, I now wish to look at the general responses of the students to one of the questions on the questionnaire which related to study problems. It is possible to make a comparison here among the three universities sampled in an effort to discover which problems are particular to Ramkhamhaeng, as opposed to being general problems of university education in Thailand.

Some of these problems have already been raised earlier in this chapter and these I will deal with only lightly. One more of the problems, that of contact between staff and students, I will reserve for a special section after this general one, since it is of particular importance to open universities.

General student problems

Question 11 on the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) listed a number of problems students face during studying, particularly in Thailand. Nine problems were listed altogether and students were

asked to indicate to what degree these problems were important for them. All students have problems when studying but this question was an attempt to discover if Ramkhamhaeng students faced different problems from students at traditional Thai universities and if these problems arose from deficiencies in the Ramkhamhaeng system of teaching and learning or from the different home backgrounds of the Ramkhamhaeng students as compared to traditional university students. Only four of the problems listed showed up significant differences between the universities. One of these was the lack of contact between staff and students (to be discussed later). Of the remaining three, two showed significant differences between Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities and Ramkhamhaeng. Table 7.5 and 7.6 below indicate the student responses.

Table 7.5. Student responses to problem of getting hold of books for studying.

Degree of difficulty	Chulalongkorn		Chieng Mai		Ramkhamhaeng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major problem	109	19	103	18	136	30
Intermediate problem	168	30	143	25	193	43
Minor problem	163	29	157	28	87	20
No problem	129	23	165	29	30	7

The results show that Ramkhamhaeng students have much more difficulty in getting hold of books than students from the other two universities. The problem of textbooks has already been discussed. Table 7.5 merely serves to show that the textbook problem is particularly important for Ramkhamhaeng and the students of the other Thai universities, while having the same problem to some extent, do not experience as much difficulty as Ramkhamhaeng students.

Table 7.6. Student responses to problem of finding a suitable place to study at the university.

Degree of difficulty	Chulalongkorn		Chieng Mai		Ramkhamhaeng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major problem	134	24	143	25	157	35
Intermediate problem	200	35	196	35	126	28
Minor problem	155	27	149	26	88	20
No problem	80	14	80	15	75	17

Table 7.6 shows that Ramkhamhaeng students feel that finding a place to study at the university is a major problem, more so than for students of the other two universities. Again, this is not a surprising finding. The sheer volume of numbers at Ramkhamhaeng means that study accommodation is hard to find on campus. It is interesting to note, however, that Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai students do find this somewhat of a problem too.

Table 7.7 provides a more interesting finding.

Table 7.7. Student responses to problem of finding a suitable place at home to study.

Degree of difficulty	Chulalongkorn		Chieng Mai		Ramkhamhaeng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major problem	108	19	179	32	222	50
Intermediate problem	251	44	185	33	114	26
Minor problem	147	26	129	23	63	14
No problem	63	11	75	13	47	11

Here, it is clear that Ramkhamhaeng students have much greater problems than Chulalongkorn students. Undoubtedly, this is related to differences in socioeconomic background discussed in the previous chapter. Chula students, coming from smaller and better-off families,

are more likely to have home conditions suitable for studying. Chieng Mai falls between the other two on this problem but for them, the situation is less serious since the university facilities are more adequate than at Ramkhamhaeng. Ramkhamhaeng students have problems in finding any suitable place to study.

It is not clear what can be done about this. The best solution would be to expand facilities at the university or to set up local studying centres but already Ramkhamhaeng campus is overcrowded and study centres are still on the drawing board. This problem merely adds to the difficulties students already face in studying at Ramkhamhaeng. In the next chapter, the influence of lack of studying facilities on university dropout will be considered.

When the Ramkhamhaeng data was further analysed, there were found to be no inter-faculty differences on problems encountered. When working and non-working students were compared, two problem areas produced differences: the problem of domestic responsibilities and that of lack of contact with staff.

Table 7.8. Responses of those working and not working to problem of domestic responsibilities.

Degree of difficulty	Those working		Those not working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Major problem	72	38	50	20
Intermediate problem	50	26	76	30
Minor problem	46	24	78	31
No problem	24	13	50	20

Table 7.8 shows that the working students found that domestic responsibilities were more of a problem than for those not working. This again is not unexpected since more of the working students are

married and thus have extra family duties.

None of the other problems listed, i.e. those of getting down to work, contact between students or extra-curricular distractions produced significant differences between any of the groups considered. This leaves the main problem area for students at Ramkhamhaeng as finding a suitable environment in which to study.

Contact between staff and students

The issue of the lack of contact between staff and students is an important one for the Ramkhamhaeng students. From Table 7.2 it can be seen that lack of contact with staff is a major complaint of the present students, the graduates and the dropouts and increasing the amount of contact is high on the list of suggestions.

Furthermore, when we compare the responses of Chulalongkorn, Chieng Mai and Ramkhamhaeng students when asked specifically about contact with staff, we see that Ramkhamhaeng students have much more of a problem than students of the other two universities, particularly Chulalongkorn. Table 7.9 lists the results.

Table 7.9. Responses of students to problem of lack of contact with staff.

Degree of difficulty	Chulalongkorn		Chieng Mai		Ramkhamhaeng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major problem	67	12	91	16	107	24
Intermediate problem	175	31	204	36	143	32
Minor problem	206	36	204	36	110	25
No problem	121	21	69	12	86	19

The amount of contact between staff and students at Ramkham-

haeng varies from faculty to faculty and from year to year, much depending on:

1. the size of the classes involved and
2. the individual lecturers themselves.

Obviously, in a class of 10,000 the opportunity for contact with students is minimal whereas classes of 50 lend themselves more to direct interaction.

As far as breakdown of students' responses by faculty is concerned, students in five of the faculties, as well as graduates of these faculties, were all concerned with the lack of contact problem. But Humanities and Science students did not rate this as highly important. The Humanities graduates, however, did mention it as a problem and listed improving it as one of their suggestions. It may be surmised that staff-student relations have increased over the years (the Humanities Faculty does now have some staff-student societies) in this faculty or perhaps that students have lowered their expectations as to the amount of contact they can reasonably hope for.

But a more important point concerning the responses of the present students is that the Humanities and Science Faculties are the two smallest in the university. Furthermore, the Science Faculty demands practical work from the students so closer contact with staff is built into the system. When we look at staff/student ratios, large inter-faculty differences appear (see Table 7.10).

The three faculties enrolling the largest number of students, Law, Political Science and Business Administration, stand out here as having the highest ratios. Obviously, in these faculties, sheer numbers will dictate the amount of contact between staff and students which is possible. In theory, each student has an adviser who will

give advice on the selection of courses, etc., and each student has the right to consult him before each registration period. In actuality, few students make use of this, especially in the large faculties where having an 'adviser' is often little more than a formality.

Table 7.10. Staff/student ratios by faculties (1977) (including part-time staff).

Law Faculty	1:600	Science Faculty	1:51
Bus. Admin. Faculty	1:323	Pol.Sci. Faculty	1:527
Humanities Faculty	1:47	Economics Faculty	1:144
Education Faculty	1:55		

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational Report, Institutions of Higher Education, Academic Year, 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.7, 208-11.

When the lack of contact question is analysed by years, it is years two to four who seem to feel it most. This is reasonable in that first year students are given back-up help from radio and television lectures but this provision is very scarce for years two to four. Furthermore, in the upper years, the content of the material is clearly more difficult. Students feel that discussions with staff would be useful, together with a chance to ask questions when they do not understand.

The provision for asking questions and having them answered is the same for all years in that students pass forward questions in lectures to the front of lecture rooms and lecturers allot time at the end of each lecture, or sometimes at the beginning of the next lecture, to answer these questions. Obviously, this is a very limited facility considering the number of students.

The staff, however, are available for personal consultation by the students and each lecturer will specify certain hours in which he will be in his office and willing to talk to students should they so desire. The office consultation hours are generally two hours per day, although students do consult at other convenient times. When asked about the amount of contact they had with students in this way, the faculties divided on their answers.

The Law, Science and Political Science Faculties felt that lots of students took advantage of this chance; the Humanities, Education and Economics Faculties were mixed in their responses, some lecturers getting a lot of visitors, some few; the Business Faculty said that it was unusual to get a response from students in this way.

It is difficult to assess much from this information because the terms "a lot" and "a few" are rather subjective. When pressed, staff would consider 10-15 a day a lot, but, for example, this would still be only a small percentage of the Law students if every lecturer got the same response.

But the staff also pointed out that this method of staff/student contact is not the most appropriate for the Thai culture. Students are raised from childhood to show great respect for teachers and this respect would involve not 'disturbing' teachers with trivial problems and questions. This fear of disturbing someone else is a very important concept throughout all areas of Thai society. To expect the universities to be different, staff felt, was to expect too much. Lecturers themselves admitted that they would not have dreamed of going to consult one of their lecturers, when they were students. But they felt that once students had plucked up the courage to come once, they would come again. It should also be pointed out,

however, that if all students had wanted to consult staff, it would have been an impossible task; ten students a day was already rather taxing on a lecturer's time.

Other more formal methods of contact, for example, tutorials, are obviously out of the question except where class sizes are small. Most of the staff said that, whenever possible, they would arrange some form of tutorial system but they also had to think about 'fairness' to students who could not take advantage of this, i.e. distance learners (see next section).

A third kind of contact is that of having staff check written work for students but this is also a difficult area for a university of this size and composition. The size issue is shown by the fact that in the Law, Political Science and to some extent the Business Administration Faculties, the lecturers said that they did not attempt to give written assignments at all. In these faculties, where even in fourth year, classes can be 4,000 students, it would be impossible to mark written work at all. Examinations take up enough time as it is.

The other faculties, however, said that they gave written work usually to the upper years and this would count towards final grades. For students who were unable to do this, i.e. usually distance learners, though they may take the chance if they wish, they are required to do extra examination questions instead.

The staff in general, felt that, if possible, they would prefer to give students papers to write or other assignments which could be part of a continuous assessment scheme but in many cases this was just out of the question. As far as assessment of students was concerned, they felt that a good student would show his ability in examination questions in any case.

With respect to examinations, the university policy is to use objective examinations, i.e. multiple choice, for all first year courses and, thereafter, the choice of method is up to the teacher concerned. The general inclination is to use subjective examinations, i.e. essay-type questions, as far as possible and almost always in fourth year courses but when classes are still large, sometimes a combination of subjective and objective is used.

The length of time to mark these papers can well be imagined. Lecturers quoted times from three to four days in the Science Faculty to three to four months in the Law Faculty, the average being about one month in the large faculties. The university tries to encourage all lecturers to get their examination marks out within one month of the end of examinations by giving financial incentives but sometimes this is plainly impossible. The lateness of examination results obviously affects students' ability to select courses for the following semester. Often they have to enrol in advanced courses without knowing the results of lower level courses until well into the next semester.

The difficulty of getting examination results out in time has led the university into abandoning the idea of pre-requisities in many areas. Faculties now have the choice of using pre-requisities for the higher-level courses or not but are encouraged to apply as few as possible. The Science Faculty is the exception here and its programmes of study are very carefully structured with pre-requisites throughout. The size of the faculty, however, means that they do not have problems with the late posting of examination results.

But the lack of contact between staff and students is felt very strongly by students with respect to examinations in that, if a student fails an examination, he has little chance of finding out

why he failed or in what way he should improve his examination answering in order to pass, i.e. he has no way of knowing 'what he is doing wrong.' Sometimes, of course, it is clear to students why they have failed but, on other occasions, students have felt that they know the material and have answered the questions adequately but they have still not managed to pass. It is probably at this point that staff/student contact could be useful.

The issue of the contact between staff and students (or lack of it) is thus one of importance for Ramkhamhaeng. Without the provision of additional staff members specifically for small group work, it is difficult to see how this could be solved. But a point of interest which has emerged from this discussion is that the usual open university methods of staff/student contact, i.e. that of making a tutor available to students if they so desire, is not a method which works in this case. The reasons are mainly cultural and this point in itself is important and must be of relevance to other developing countries which are considering open university systems of learning. If a voluntary method is not appropriate, must consultation become compulsory? And if it becomes compulsory, how is it to be staffed? Part of the philosophy of open universities revolves around the idea of economy and moving away from the expensive system in traditional universities of low teacher/student ratios. Employing more staff specifically for consultation purposes would seem thus to defeat the whole purpose.

But it is worthwhile considering whether staff/student contact is essential, and if it is, for what specific purposes? The British Open University has found no correlation between success and use of tutorial services. The presence of a tutor clearly serves other

purposes than purely pedagogical ones but if it serves only non-pegagogical ones, is it then a luxury which the developing countries can do without?

The answer to this question seems intuitively to be "no" in that universities have for long been conceived of as places where ideas were exchanged and did not merely consist of a one-way transference of knowledge. But the whole concept of staff/student contact needs rethinking. I suggest that it may have very specific utilities in some areas, for example, after examinations, but it is important that in considering open universities in the developing world, we do not fall into the trap of transporting our Western concepts of students' needs to be applied in this clearly different kind of situation. There are a large number of social and cultural factors which are at work and require consideration before any answers to the question of interaction between staff and students are considered.

Regular students versus distance learners

No-one, students or staff, would deny that students who attend regularly have advantages over those who do not: distance learners have to work harder to get the same results. The opinions of the staff quoted in the section on lectures verifies this. Before discussing the problems here, it is worthwhile to summaries the services offered to students who cannot attend for lectures, bearing in mind that these services are available to regular students also.

1. Purchase of textbooks from the university. The purchasing of textbooks can be done by post without the students' having to come to Bangkok or to the university. The bookstore offers a specialised service for distance students and estimate that normally

it takes about two weeks to send books off, one month if the bookstore is exceptionally busy.

2. Media programmes, i.e. radio and television broadcasting. Little of this is available in the provinces but students can have tapes of the radio lectures re-recorded by the university. Again, this can be done by post and the audio-visual section of the library, which handles this, estimates that it takes about one week to reproduce these tapes and send them back. The re-recording is free but students must provide their own tapes.

3. Use of the library. Distance students have the same rules applied to them as regularly attending students, i.e. they may borrow books from the library for one week only. This effectively prohibits distance learners from borrowing books at all since it would involve two trips to Bangkok in the same week. There is no postal borrowing system but the library is hoping to set up postal borrowing in the future. Since library facilities nationwide are very limited, it means that, as far as reading material is concerned, students who live in the provinces (about 17% of the enrolment according to my sample) must rely entirely on the textbooks they can buy from the university.

4. Roving lecturer service. As explained in chapter 5, certain provincial centres will play host to lecturers from the university, who will give review lectures on the basic courses and be available for student consultation.

5. Other contact with staff. Students have the right to communicate with lecturers by letter or telephone whenever they wish. In general, it must be said that staff are very receptive to this kind of contact, although it is time-consuming for them to handle. But they find that not many students <u>do</u> contact them. Again this

reflects the cultural problem mentioned earlier with respect to student-teacher relationships.

To summarise, the average distance learner makes use purely of textbooks (or tapes and textbooks for some courses) and does all his studying from this material. One's first reaction to this is that it is completely inadequate but it must be remembered that the textbooks the student reads have been specially written for the courses he is taking. Admittedly, most of the books are not strictly 'open university-type' books but more resemble those of a closed university. But they do cover all the required material and some, at least, are programmed learning texts or contain suggested questions which a student should consider once he has read the material. And the books are improving.

Most lecturers use one basic textbook (or perhaps two) with suggestions for supplementary reading which a student may do. A student carrying a load of 18 units per semester would thus be expected to read at least six books (usually more). An average of about nine textbooks per term does not seem inadequate to me and compares favourably with students at the closed universities. The Ramkhamhaeng staff, drawing on their own experience, would tend to agree.

Advice given to students on the amount of studying they should do is that for every hour of set lecture time, they should spend a further two hours on working on the material. For those who do not attend classes, it is recommended that they do the extra hour themselves. At the time when the advice was given, a three-unit course would have three hours of lecture time allocated to it. Thus students would be expected to devote nine hours per week to each subject. It was pointed out to students that, if they were working full-time, they should not attempt to do more than four courses per

semester and should probably do less since a full load was reckoned to be five to six courses.[10]

When complaints of students were analysed for differences between those working and those not working and studying, there was little difference. Most complaints were the same as those already listed in Table 7.2 and in the same order. The one further complaint was found among students who had dropped out while trying to work and study. They mentioned specifically that provincial students were at a disadvantage as compared to those who live in Bangkok. No-one would deny this.

When considering suggestions made by those two groups of students, results are seen to be slightly different and worth listing. Table 7.11 shows the response rate to the question. Table 7.12 lists the top five suggestions from each group.

Table 7.11. Percentage of those working and not working while studying who responded to request for suggestions for improvements.

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Those working	179	82	82	85	63	81
Those not working	254	86	185	87	26	76

The important differences are interesting: the mention of the media by those working and a corresponding mention of closer contact with staff and having more staff by those not working. These differences obviously reflect the different needs and expectations of the students according to the method by which they are studying. But this need for contact is also partly expressed in the desire to have regional centres set up, raised by those working. This is

not entirely a need for contact, however, since many of those who mentioned this elaborated as to what functions these regional centres should have.

Table 7.12. Suggestions from present students, graduates and dropouts, divided by those working and those not working and studying (number and kind of responses).

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
Those working	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Increase lecture rooms	54	30	16	19.5	6	9.5
Increase no. of textbooks	24	13	19	23	10	16
Open regional centres			13	16	17	27
Increase use of media	25	14	9	11	10	16
Limit intake	17	9				
Those not working						
Increase lecture rooms	105	41	54	29	10	38
Increase no. of textbooks	39	15	37	20	5	19
Limit intake	39	15	39	21		
More contact with staff	30	12	34	18		
Increase no. of teachers	26	10	18	10		
Increase lecture hours	26	10				

Note: Percentages refer to percentage of total respondents to this question.

The most commonly mentioned uses were for registration and examination purposes. The registration suggestion has already been handled by the university by instituting a postal enrolment scheme. Until 1979, this was not possible and students had to come in person each term or, at least, have someone come for them. Part of the reasoning behind this was related to having students meet their

advisers but since few students make use of this facility, the postal enrolment scheme was initiated.

The problem of examinations is more difficult. At present, examinations are held at the end of each semester and last over a period of about three weeks. They are held in Bangkok. Students who live in the provinces have long complained about the expense of time and money this entails since they may have to come and go several times, if they have examinations stretching over a wide period, or stay over in Bangkok, again expensive. Furthermore, employers are rather unwilling to allow people so much time off for this purpose. Nor would annual leave (usually about ten days at most) be enough to cover all the examinations periods.

Thus the setting-up of regional centres for examinations would be a valuable service. The reasons why the university has not yet done this are, I think, twofold:

1. The problem of organisation. Already, the examination of 300,000 students taking 1,000 different courses within three weeks at various centres throughout Bangkok is a mammoth task. Expanding this to the provinces would require the solving of further organisational problems. However, the problems are not insurmountable. The present examination system is run with clockwork efficiency and it would not seem impossible to transfer this efficiency to provincial centres. Suggestions have already been made in the university for experimenting with examining a few subjects in regional centres.

2. The problem of security. The leaking of examination questions is always a great worry at any time in Thailand. Ramkhamhaeng goes as far as to print some of the examination questions on the day of the examination in the early hours of the morning in an effort to minimise the chances of this happening. Printing at other

times takes place under high security conditions. If examinations were to be held in the provinces, this would involve either printing the papers there or transferring the papers from Bangkok. Both involve the risk of leakage.

Whatever the problems are, regional examination centres would certainly be a useful service to offer provincial students and might prevent some of the dropouts which occur for practical reasons, such as those quoted earlier in actually getting to examinations.

Research at Ramkhamhaeng

A university is usually not judged as good or bad according to the system it operates but rather on the quality of the teaching staff and the teaching and research they do. So far, little has been said about the activities of the teaching staff at Ramkhamhaeng besides their teaching duties but it would now be useful to take a look at this.

From Table 4.10, it is clear that, as yet, Ramkhamhaeng lags behind all of the other universities as far as doctoral qualifications of the staff are concerned, though it has a large number of M.A. holders on its staff. Table 7.13 indicates in more detail the status of qualification of the full-time academic staff at Ramkhamhaeng from 1974 to 1979.

It is clear from this table that in percentage terms, the qualification level of the staff at Ph.D. level has remained fairly constant since 1974. In actual numbers, however, those with M.A.'s and higher degrees have increased over the years. But the process of upgrading staff qualifications is a lengthy one. Furthermore, the number of people who have already taken higher degrees in Thailand is not large, mainly because of the financial burden on the people who want to do this. Unless a Government scholarship is forthcoming,

lecturers often have to delay any intention they may have of studying further, for several years, or study part-time, making the process even longer.

Table 7.13. Percentage of full-time staff with various qualifications from 1974-79.

Level of qualification	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Ph.D.	4	3	4	5	5	5
Master's	57	64	66	68	69	70
Bachelor's and Diploma	39	33	30	26	26	25

Sources: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, 1974, 1975, 1976, (Bangkok, 1976, 1977, 1978), p.98, 127, 148 respectively.
1978 and 1979 figures from Appendix to the Report assessing the results of the Fourth Higher Education Development Plan, (1977-81), (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1980), p.10-11.

Sometimes, particularly at the Ph.D. level, staff will have to go abroad to study if there are no programmes of study in Thailand; for example, there is no Ph.D. in Education in Thailand. This is a very expensive proposition for anyone to undertake personally and often the best chance of studying abroad at all is to work in a university for some years and then to be sponsored, at least partly, by the university. Some members of staff interviewed by me said they thought the chances of university sponsorship at Ramkhamhaeng were better than at some other universities since, as it was a new university, eager to establish itself well, the university would be more inclined to send people off on courses of study. This is, in fact, a wrong assumption as Table 7.14 indicates.

The university does have a number of its staff on higher degree programmes abroad but the sponsorship of even one lecturer involves a large financial outlay and takes a number of years to complete. Results of the staff development programme will not be readily visible

for some years to come. And furthermore, since the size of the staff is constantly increasing as student numbers increase, the results of such an effort tend to be obscured. When the size of the university stabilises, the whole pattern will change somewhat.

Table 7.14. Number of staff on study leave from all Thai universities, 1977-79

	1977	1978	1979
Chulalongkorn	157 (6%)	154	126
Kasetsart	160 (12%)	171	n.a.
Khon Kaen	58 (9%)	56	42
Chieng Mai	205 (14%)	201	199
Thammasat	61 (8%)	61	85
Mahidol	83 (3%)	57	103
Ramkhamhaeng	2 (0.3%)	13	14
Silpakorn	44 (11%)	39	36
Sri Nakharinwirot	37 (2%)	37	44
Prince of Songkla	110 (22%)	124	161
King Mongkut's Institute	26 (4%)	22	23

Source: Appendix to the Report assessing the results of the Fourth Higher Education Development Plan, (1977-81), (in Thai), (Bangkok, 1980), p.13.

Not only are the qualifications of the staff important but also the research work carried out by the staff is an accepted indication of 'merit' for a university.

Table 4.11 listed the percentage of staff engaged in research work at Ramkhamhaeng. The number is not insubstantial but the university itself has expressed some concern as to the amount of research being done at Ramkhamhaeng. They see that the problems in doing research at Ramkhamhaeng arise not only from time and finan-

cial restraints but also from the lack of interest from the staff in doing research. None of these problems is unfamiliar to a university but there are particular problems at a university such as Ramkhamhaeng because of the system itself.

This chapter has already pointed out the kind of workloads the staff have to cope with, not only in teaching itself but also in textbook writing, etc. The University Council has produced some figures as to how much time is available for research work. They calculated that actual teaching days accounted for 260 days in one year. When other duties were taken into account, such as examination supervision and marking, advising of students, registration days, etc., a Ramkhamhaeng lecturer was left with 66 days and some of these would be taken up with activities such as graduation, teachers' day, etc. Compare this with a British university survey which indicated that teachers attributed about 60% of their classified working time at the university to teaching and 24% to personal research.[12] It should be pointed out, furthermore, that Ramkhamhaeng staff are expected to work on Saturdays and Sundays also, when lectures are still in operation. This does not mean that people work a seven-day week but most people do already have a long week. During examination periods, which last for three weeks, three times a year, staff do work a seven-day week. Extra remuneration is given for this but the amount of time and energy this takes up is high.

When the question of research was raised with the Dean of each Faculty, all of them mentioned time as being one of the major obstacles. They were all agreed that research ought to have a part in a university to keep the university in a dynamic state. Otherwise, staff would continue year after year to repeat the same material they had always taught. Staff members, however, said that it was difficult

enough finding time to do reading, far less do research.

I did meet some members of staff who were involved in research work and they claimed that it was possible but it required a strict organisation of their time and not being disturbed constantly by students wanting advice. The best time to prepare material was at home in the evenings and at the weekends, if they were not working.

Some teachers mentioned the fact that even in the evenings, there was not much time to do research work since they had to teach at other institutions to make some extra money to supplement their rather meagre salary. Moonlighting did not seem to be an unusual occurrence and this would certainly reduce the time and energy devoted to research. One member of the Education Faculty had a rather different reason for not doing research: he said that he used to be very keen but that no-one ever took any notice of the results or even read his reports afterwards, so that he had abandoned the idea of research and was concentrating on his teaching instead.

Financial support. Surprisingly, most people interviewed at the higher levels of administration said that they thought money was not a major problem. The money was there once a research proposal had been approved although it might take some time to get the money through. However, individual staff members said they thought that money, too was a major obstacle and that it was hopeless getting approval for a research project that required some investment. This, they felt, tied their hands a bit and limited the scope of what they could do.

The problem seems to be one of lack of communication with staff members as to research possibilities. Many members of staff felt discouraged about submitting research proposals since there is a fair amount of bureaucracy to get through before money is allocated.

Clearly, many others too, however, were not interested in research at this stage in their careers.

But the Office of University Affairs seems concerned about the money available for research also. They felt that research, extension and cultural activities of the universities were very badly financed but that the universities could play a large part in research, particularly into fields concerned with economic and social development.[13] The proportion of the total University Budget (i.e. for all universities) assigned to research is usually less than 1.5% although the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan has increased this to 3.6%.[14]

Ramkhamhaeng is at a disadvantage as far as research money goes, since the Government interest in research is with agriculture and technical subjects, and social sciences have a very small allocation. Table 7.15 indicates the Budget allocation for research for 1976.

Various suggestions have been put forward as to how the problem of doing research could be overcome. These include suggestions as to increasing the number of teaching staff and/or dividing the academic staff into teaching and research but most of these are not practicable financially. The Government is not keen to increase the Budget allocation for staff in the coming years and the university itself cannot support more teachers since its money is at present tied up in the new campus and other projects.

A solution which has been mentioned more frequently would attempt to solve the problem of overwork for the staff. This is to move away from using a semester system for the university to using a year system. This kind of change would cut down the time spent on duties such as registration, examination supervision and marking,

etc., since there would be fewer periods of this during the year (registrations, examinations, etc. take up approximately four months in each year), thus freeing more time for research activities.

Table 7.15. Research fund allocation for 1976.

Field	% of total allocation
Agriculture and biology	39.2
Engineering research in industry	28.0
Economics	8.2
Sociology	6.8
Political Sciences and Public Administration	4.6
Medical Sciences	4.2
Physical Sciences and Mathematics	4.1
Philosophy	2.7
Chemistry and Pharmacy	1.7
Law	0.5

Source: S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.78.

It is undoubtedly true that the staff at a university like Ramkhamhaeng have a very large number of extra-teaching tasks, together with a large amount of time to be spent marking examinations but to adopt an academic year system would seem to give all the benefits to the staff and load all the costs onto the students. One of the advantages of the Ramkhamhaeng system is its flexibility, especially since it handles a wide range of students. In having a semester system, it allows students to study for concentrated, relatively short periods of time, when direct rewards can be immediately forthcoming. This must be particularly helpful to students who have

little direct contact with the university, i.e. those working and studying and those learning at a distance. A system whereby one had to study for a complete year or even nine months would place an even larger burden on the individual. If there was no assessment during this period, and the idea of having a year, not a semester, system is to reduce the time spent on assessment at least by examination, academic worries would be intensified. A year system would also require better written materials than Ramkhamhaeng possesses at the moment. Furthermore, personal problems and responsibilities at home and work would cause students to lose a whole year of studying as opposed to affecting only one semester as at present.

Other issues would have to be resolved also, such as what would be the place of a summer school in such a system? At present, summer school is a good opportunity for people to work for a concentrated period of time at studying. 'Getting one's head down' for nine weeks is often an easier proposition than working steadily for a year, particularly for those students who are not attending regularly. A radical restructuring of the curriculum would also be essential; rewriting of courses and hence rewriting of textbooks would be required. Already the problems of textbook writing are quite severe. Certainly before this kind of programme was begun, a great deal of thinking would be required as to the effects on the student body. After all, the main purpose of the university is teaching and research is surely a secondary consideration.

Perhaps a better solution would be something resembling a sabbatical research year or a sabbatical research semester for interested members of staff, particularly in the initial stages of the research. This could be possible without the employment of too many extra lecturers, perhaps by the temporary redistribution of courses

for short periods of time among other members of staff. Staff, at present, can volunteer to teach reduced loads, thus freeing time for research but this is accompanied by a corresponding reduction in salary. If this reduction in salary did not happen, more staff might be encouraged to work on a research project full-time, for at least part of the research work.

A further development to supplement this idea could be the setting up of some kind of research institute at the university, to deal specifically with problems of research and giving of advice to staff on their research methods. This idea has been mentioned several times in documents on the research problem but no further steps have been taken to implement this proposal. It could perhaps be combined with the sabbatical idea in that staff members could become temporarily attached to the research institute after receiving initial training and guidance on their research proposals.

A research institute might encourage further inter-disciplinary research. At present, there is little communication between faculties on research work, partly because there is no system which facilitates this. If more people in the university knew what other people were thinking and what research was going on, the carrying out of research might gain more impetus. Furthermore, the research institute could help with the problem of making the results of research work known more widely. At present, one of the difficulties is getting the information to an appropriate audience.

Whatever the final solution arrived at is, if the university wishes to be known for more than its teaching, research work must be encouraged. A university of this size might be expected to be making more contribution to national development and although it is at a disadvantage in this field in not handling agricultural or

technical subjects, both areas in which the Government is interested in research, the social sciences have their part to play also. Furthermore, if the university wishes to open up higher degree programmes and this is one of their intentions for the future, research will have to play a large part.

One may wish to argue that a university of this kind should exist only as a teaching university but this would reduce it in its own eyes and (certainly for Ramkhamhaeng) in the eyes of other universities to a second class status. If research is to be considered an integral part of university life, then it must exist in the open universities too. Otherwise, they will become glorified schools in the eyes of the rest of the academic world.

Concluding comments

It is clear from what has been said in this chapter that the teaching and learning system is biased in favour of those who can attend regularly. Both the staff and the students focus on the lectures as being the core of the system and other teaching/learning devices are, as it were, supplementary material. Some of this is a product of circumstances; the increasing size of the student body and the corresponding increase in the workload of the staff particularly in the field of examinations; the pressures to produce any kind of printed material in subjects where there is often none existing in Thai with the subsequent effects on the quality of the material; the lack of facilities in the field of broadcasting.

If change is to come about, however, this change must first come in attitudes, both of the staff and of the students, to the methods used at Ramkhamhaeng. Most of the student body is composed of new secondary school graduates (68% of my sample were 20 years

old or under when entering Ramkhamhaeng) where expectations of university education are the kind of education one would get at a closed university.

The staff, too, however, when asked what were the differences between teaching at a closed university and teaching at Ramkhamhaeng, said that the main differences were the size of classes and that teachers were required to do a lot of more 'clerical' work, for example, in examination preparation and supervision. There was little mention made of the different teaching approach required and the importance of other forms of teaching besides the use of formal lectures.

They felt that a further difficulty and something which distinguished Ramkhamhaeng from the other universities was the wide variation in ability of the students. This is clearly a problem when teaching but it was felt that students had made the choice to come and study so that they would have to attempt to keep up with the standards of the university. Mixed ability teaching is a problem common to all countries and at all levels of education.

What is essential at Ramkhamhaeng is a lead from the administration in educating the teachers as to what Ramkhamhaeng and the system of teaching and learning are about.

But what is encouraging about the university is its attempt to combine different forms of teaching in an effort to find a suitable compromise which will keep university costs down but will be in keeping with the expectations of the students as to what form university education should take.

The system they have chosen is a half-way house between closed and open university techniques, as we in the West understand them. There are undoubtedly problems in getting the balance right and fur-

ther problems more related to the practical aspects of Ramkhamhaeng itself, as opposed to the system as a whole. Undoubtedly, many of Ramkhamhaeng's problems have arisen because of the haste with which the university was set up. This has meant that there has been little time for forward planning and everything must take place in the here-and-now.

This is true also for the lecturers, most of whom seemed to be struggling to cope with the day-to-day tasks of teaching at Ramkhamhaeng without having the time to think about next semester or next year. These difficulties should disappear in time.

This chapter has concentrated mainly on analysing the system from a Ramkhamhaeng point of view. In the final chapter of the thesis, more general conclusions will be drawn using the material discussed here.

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Chapter 8. The graduates and the dropouts.

Much of the discussion in this chapter draws on questionnaire returns. The response rates for both graduates and dropouts was low but I have satisfied myself that the graduate group is reasonably representative of the whole graduate population (see Appendix 2). This is not possible for the dropout group. However, later in this chapter, I will point out where spurious results may have been obtained if the samples are biased.

Who graduates?

In discussing the question of access in chapter 6, I left the discussion with the point that getting a wider range of the population into the universities was only part of the issue. For developing countries, who must be very concerned with the economic aspects of their higher education provision, this move in itself would not be enough to justify the expansion of the university system. But if it was found that many of this new group of students also succeeded in their university courses, a real breakthrough would have been made.

In an effort to investigate this point, I compared the graduate sample with all students presently studying.[1] This would enable me to see if the graduates of the university had the same background characteristics as the total student population. If it was found that the graduates differed significantly from the student population at Ramkhamhaeng, then clearly this would have some significance for the university's mode of operation.

Of all the factors discussed in chapter 6, only two showed

up as being significantly different. These were the proportion of graduates who worked and studied and the proportion who took entrance examinations before entering university. (See Tables 8.1 and 8.2). Since the other data is not significant, I have not tabulated it here.

Table 8.1. Those working and studying: graduates v. present students.

	Graduates		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Worked and studied	97	38	219	43
Did not work and study	215	62	295	57

Table 8.2. Those who took JHEEE: graduates v. present students.

	Graduates		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Took JHEEE	222	74	315	63
Did not	76	26	182	37

As far as those working is concerned, the graduates show a smaller percentage of working students than those presently enrolled at Ramkhamhaeng. The most probable reason for this, as already discussed in chapter 6, is that the problems of working and studying simultaneously caused lower graduation rates among working students than among non-working students.

The data in Table 8.2 require some further explanation also. The table shows that a larger proportion of graduates, than for those presently studying, had taken the JHEEE. The most likely explanation is that a larger proportion of students would have taken the JHEEE several years ago than now since in the years when the graduates in my sample were enrolling, 1972-74, Ramkhamhaeng was

just beginning and did not have an established reputation. Students would have thus been more likely at that time to attempt to gain entry to a more traditional university first, before choosing Ramkhamhaeng. This seems a more plausible explanation than the alternative, that those who took entrance (and were not successful) are somehow more fit to study and have more chance of success at Ramkhamhaeng than those who never took the examination.

If we believe then that the taking of the examination to enter the closed universities is not a significant factor in determining success at Ramkhamhaeng, (though this requires further research), then we must conclude that those who graduate differ little from the whole population of enrolled students. Only on one factor, that of working and studying, do significant differences exist. One is not surprised to find that working and studying is an important factor in accounting for differential student success but one is perhaps surprised to find that no other factors are important, for example, home province, place of finishing secondary education, father's income, etc. The data show that people from different regional and economic backgrounds perform equally well as far as graduation record is concerned. This is a worthwhile achievement at Ramkhamhaeng. Not only has access been opened up at the entrance level but the chance of success offered appears to be a real one. Undoubtedly, people from different educational and economic backgrounds will have experienced different amounts of difficulty in achieving this success but the end result is encouraging.

This finding is very much in line with an earlier author's research on success in higher education and socioeconomic status. Wolfle in 1954, when talking of the US said:

> "The probability of enrolling in college decreases more sharply as one goes down the ability scale for children from economically and socially less favoured homes than it does for children from more favoured homes. After entering college, the situation changes. The student who gets into college has already overcome most of whatever handicaps the home environment offered; once there, his chances of graduating are much more dependent upon his ability and much less upon his family background than were his chances of getting into college in the first place." (2)

Differences within the graduate population

If one analyses further the data for the graduates, one finds that the inter-faculty differences among graduates are the same as among the students presently studying. In each group, the Law students stand out from the rest on characteristics such as sex, age on entering, civil status, working versus not working, etc. In those respects, since I have already shown that graduates do not differ from presently studying students on these factors, it can be concluded that the Law Faculty has always been different from the other faculties in student composition, for reasons discussed earlier in chapter 6.

There are two further respects in which Law graduates differ from the other faculties' graduates. First, Law students take on average longer to graduate and second, after graduation, a larger proportion continue to study, in some cases while working.

Both these factors are not unexpected in that when students are working, as many law students are, the time for graduation will naturally be extended. The different pattern after graduation is again easily explained, i.e. a law degree in itself is of little practical value as far as employment goes. As in all countries, the important legal examinations are the public examinations, for ex-

ample, Bar examinations. Hence most law graduates would be expected to continue for a further year or two after their first degree to gain this professional qualification.

The data from the graduate group are very encouraging but it is important to consider here possible biasing in the sample. If there is a bias in the returned questionnaires, it would be expected to take this form: those who chose to answer the questionnaire would most likely be those who had invested a lot in their studying and probably those for whom the period of studying had been difficult but successful. These graduates would probably now have much more interest in Ramkhamhaeng because their motivation all through would have been much higher. The graduates for whom the studying had put up no difficulties might be less interested in a follow-up questionnaire. If one thinks about what differences there might be between these two groups, one must conclude that those with few difficulties would probably be those who had few financial or educational problems, i.e. those from high-income families who finished their secondary schooling in Bangkok. It would equally be expected that those who had been disappointed with their results at Ramkhamhaeng, or who have been disappointed in their subsequent careers, would be more reluctant to return the questionnaires.

Since only 30% of those sampled returned the questionnaire, it is possible that the other 70% contained a larger number of the higher income group mentioned above. Comparison of my data with that of the university suggests that this is not the case (see Appendix 2). One would, however, like to carry out a follow-up study of those who did not return the questionnaires also.

Graduate employment and unemployment

The issue of graduate employment and unemployment has already been raised, in chapter 4, for universities in Thailand in general, and in chapter 5 for Ramkhamhaeng. In this section, I wish to explore more fully the overall graduate employment situation with particular reference to Ramkhamhaeng.

The patterns of employment for the years 1974-5 and 1975-6 have been looked at in general in Tables 4.14 and 4.15. At that time, Ramkhamhaeng was still contributing only a small number of graduates to the pool each year. However, from 1975 onwards, the number of graduates from Ramkhamhaeng has been increasing steadily (see Table 5.5)and in 1979, there were 8,000 graduates. No detailed Government figures are yet available on patterns of graduate employment and unemployment after 1975-6, but it will be useful to look at what the position of Ramkhamhaeng graduates was at that stage and, by using information from the questionnaires, look at future possibilities.

Table 8.3 considers the employment patterns both for graduates in general and Ramkhamhaeng in particular. Data for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai are included for comparison. It must be noted, however, that the Government data for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai refer to all faculties in the universities, while my survey sampled only some of the faculties.

The figure of great importance here is the 65% of graduates who took up Government service. The Government has always been the largest single employer of graduates, for many years employing approximately 60% of the new graduates.[3] The capacity of the Government to absorb a large number of graduates is still relatively high at

present. Ketudat reports that by the end of the Fiscal Year 1975 (i.e. October, 1976), there were still 11,770 unfilled positions in the Government service.[4] However, the Government's ability to absorb more graduates will not continue for ever. Other sectors of the economy will have to accept a larger proportion of graduates in future years.

Table 8.3. Types of employment of graduates, 1975-6.

	All		Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Civil service	8,122	65	488	27	476	48	320	53
State enterprise	429	3	116	7	35	4	54	9
Private company	3,186	26	887	50	399	40	109	28
Internat. Organ.	27	-	6	-	3	-	1	-
Further study	723	6	285	16	76	8	59	10

Source: Office of University Affairs, Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates, academic year 1975, (Bangkok, 1977), p.42-60.

However, the situation as far as preferred employment is concerned seems to be changing. Of the universities listed above, it is Chulalongkorn that stands out from the others as far as patterns of employment are concerned, a much larger number of graduates being employed in the private sector. This change in preference for the private sector for employment is fairly recent; one of the main aims on obtaining higher education in earlier years was the gaining of a prestige-carrying Government job on graduation. It appears that the prestige of a Civil Service job may be giving way to a concern with financial gain. Blaug, for example, reports in 1975 that working as a civil servant rather than for private industry depressed ear-

nings by 10.6%.[5]

Other universities' graduates have not gone as far as Chulalongkorn in moving away from the civil service work but returns from my questionnaires show that again the patterns may be changing. Table 8.4 lists my findings concerning what kind of work students were expecting for the future.

Table 8.4. Job expectations for students from three universities

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Civil service	85	17	267	48	150	33
State enterprise	40	8	45	8	61	13
Private company	200	40	132	24	145	32
International organisation	25	5	13	2	17	4
Further study	150	30	97	18	79	17

For both Chulalongkorn and Ramkhamhaeng, the trend is again less interest in Government employment and more interest in the private sector. The high figures at Chieng Mai for Government employment can be attributed mainly to the presence of the large number of education students. All teachers in Thailand, of whatever level, are civil servants.

It is encouraging that fewer people are now expecting to take up Government employment particularly since the number of graduates is increasing each year and the Government's absorptive capacity will fall. The private sector will have to support a larger percentage of the graduates and only time will tell whether the economy is prepared for this or not. At present, there are no signs that this sector has <u>not</u> been able to fulfil this need.

A second area of interest as far as graduate employment is concerned is that of where, i.e. in what region, employment takes place. This is an important consideration when thinking of regional development. The setting-up of the three regional universities in the 1960's was intended to act as a stimulus for development in the regions concerned. One of the problems with Ramkhamhaeng has been that large numbers of people have moved into the city for the period of their study. It is usually fairly unusual for people to move back to the provinces once this initial step has been taken. Thus the next few tables will examine the region of employment issue.

Table 8.5 shows, for the 1975-76 graduates, where most found employment.

Table 8.5. Region of employment for 1975-76 graduates.

	All		Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	4,975	43	1,148	77	371	41	337	62
Central region	2,549	22	200	13	102	11	88	16
North	1,501	13	57	4	311	34	30	6
Northeast	1,551	13	42	3	77	9	66	12
South	1,112	10	37	3	44	5	21	4
Abroad	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Office of University Affairs, Preliminary survey on status of job placement of graduates, academic year 1975, (Bangkok, 1977), p.72-102.

It is clear for all groups that the largest single place of employment is Bangkok with Chulalongkorn graduates showing a much greater tendency to be employed there than those of the other universities. But, after all, more of the Chulalongkorn students come from Bangkok

in the first place. Although Ramkhamhaeng graduates are present in large numbers in Bangkok, there is a much greater spread of graduates employed in other provinces than for Chulalongkorn and, of course, Chieng Mai has a large percentage of graduates employed locally. With the growth of Ramkhamhaeng, the demands for employment in Bangkok will also grow, if the percentage of Ramkhamhaeng graduates seeking employment in the capital remains at this level. To assess the latest trends, students were asked in my questionnaire where they thought they would take up employment after graduation. Table 8.6 shows the results.

Table 8.6. Intended place of employment of sampled students.

	Chula		C.M.		R.U.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	365	71	96	17	223	48
Central region	61	12	77	13	102	22
North	35	7	327	57	51	11
Northeast	16	3	35	6	43	9
South	16	3	35	6	33	7
Abroad	18	4	6	1	11	2

If these figures are realistic, they show a much lower interest from recently enrolled students in working in Bangkok after graduation, particularly for Ramkhamhaeng and Chieng Mai students. But the figures should be treated with caution since students may have felt some obligation to fill in the questionnaire in a way which in the end does not express their intention. The most encouraging of all the figures, however, are surely the figures for Chieng Mai where 57% of the students are willing to work in the northern region

even though only 47% of the students sampled originate there.

If the regional job market was becoming more popular for the students, especially the Ramkhamhaeng students, this could be a useful factor in regional development. Certainly, at the present time, the civil service jobs for education and political science graduates are almost all in the provincial areas. However, the tendency towards private companies and away from civil service jobs may also affect the place of work of the graduates. Clearly, private companies are much more thriving in the urban areas, particularly Bangkok. More detailed research is needed before it will be possible to say whether students and graduates are willing to go back to provincial areas or not if Bangkok jobs become scarcer.

So far, the discussion has ranged mainly round the positive view of employment but undoubtedly, graduate unemployment is a more worrying concern. It cannot be denied that, according to the 1974-5 and 1975-6 figures (see Table 4.14), graduate unemployment from Ramkhamhaeng was higher than for the other universities. Two reasons for this may be adduced:

1. The kind of subjects offered at Ramkhamhaeng, with the exception of education, are the subject areas where there is most graduate unemployment in Thailand.

2. Several years ago, people were suspicious of Ramkhamhaeng degrees and, given the choice, may well have chosen graduates of other universities first.

The first of these reasons will not disappear. Ramkhamhaeng was planned as basically a social science university because of the nature of the teaching methods to be used. Table 4.15 indicates that there is only a limited outlet for graduates of these subjects on the present job market.

However, there are several mitigating aspects of the graduate problem at Ramkhamhaeng. First is the presence of working students. As has been mentioned, the faculty which produces the largest number of graduates each year (Law) is also the faculty with the largest number of working students. The presence of a large number of working students effectively reduces the unemployment problem later. Other faculties have lower percentages of working students but there, too, the presence of at least some working students reduces the extent of the problem.

The second factor I would like to mention is less tangible in nature and refers to the non-academic nature of some of the 'education' Ramkhamhaeng offers. This idea of non-academic education I will discuss more fully later but basically it is that both staff and students at Ramkhamhaeng feel that students learn so much more about life, about independence, self-help. etc., than at the other universities and that these qualities stand them in good stead after graduation. This kind of education is not learned in textbooks or from lectures but arises from the system operated at Ramkhamhaeng as opposed to the traditional universities, whereby students have to learn to fend for themselves and depend on themselves since there are few rules and regulations about studying, attending class, etc.

This idea is now gaining more acceptance outside the university too and is at least part of the explanation why employers' prejudice towards the graduates is disappearing.

Whatever the changes in attitudes however, the sheer numbers of graduates from Ramkhamhaeng will necessarily cause problems on the employment market. So far, there has been little backlash from this, possibly because graduate unemployment, though rising, is still

not a great problem. What may happen in the future is harder to see.

At least one author, as far back as 1966, saw rising graduate unemployment or the drift of graduates into low-paying jobs as a serious danger politically speaking. He saw the result as being a disaffected intelligentsia, which could be further complicated by the infiltration by communist agents from neighbouring countries:

> "What is today a small and "querulous" group of intellectuals could, in the future, become a large and revolutionary intelligentsia. To prevent the formation of such a group, the government must either retrench in the provision of educational opportunities for its people - a course of action also fraught with dangerous consequences - or expand opportunities for employment along the lines which we have already reviewed, each of which again opens up dangerous consequences." (6)

His pessimism in 1966 has, as yet, not proved justified. The student revolts of 1973 and 1976 were not concerned with graduate unemployment. However, it is only in recent years that there has begun to be a problem and with the increasing number of graduates from Ramkhamhaeng each year, his ideas may yet become reality.

The dropouts

Unfortunately, the number of dropouts responding to the mailed questionnaire was small, 10%, thus the question of biasing in the sample of dropouts, which may produce distorted results, must be raised. The kind of people who have dropped out and will answer a questionnaire about this are probably those with 'good' reasons for dropping out. These reasons, real or claimed, will be external to the respondent as opposed to internal in nature; that is to say, due to, for example, home and work responsibilities rather than to lack of ability. My sample probably contains mostly this kind of

person so that results must be interpreted carefully. It would be useful to do a follow-up of other dropouts to find out how many leave because of ability difficulties and who these people are.

However, despite the low return, an analysis of the results was carried out and shows that when the dropouts were compared with the presently studying students, the factors of sex, age on entering, civil status, residence while studying, working and studying and source of income produced significant differences. (See Tables 8.7, 8.8, 8.9, 8.10, 8.11 and 8.12). The other socioeconomic factors showed no differences at all.

Table 8.7. Sex of dropouts v. present students.

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Male	88	79	272	53
Female	24	21	244	47

Table 8.8. Age on entering for dropouts versus present students.

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	35	39	334	69
21-23	15	17	78	16
over 23	40	44	69	14

Table 8.9. Civil status of dropouts v. present students.

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Single	80	71	477	92
Married	32	29	39	8

The tables above indicate that the dropout group contains a larger representation of males than the presently studying group; they also tend to be older on entering university and a larger percentage are married. Already indications are that the dropout group contains a large number of 'mature students' with family responsibilities.

Table 8.10. Those working: dropouts v. present students.

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Working	78	70	219	43
Not working	34	30	295	57

Table 8.11. Source of income for dropouts v. present students.

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parents	41	37	343	66
Savings	10	9	18	3
Working	61	54	149	29
Other	-	-	6	1

Table 8.12. Residence while studying for dropouts v. present students

	Dropouts		Present	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	74	69	428	83
Elsewhere	34	31	87	17

Tables 8.10-8.12 suggest that the dropout group contains a large number of working and self-supporting students and a large number of students who lived outside Bangkok (although this figure is still only 30%). Again this adds to the picture of a mature student with domestic and work responsibilities. It is to be expected that this

kind of student will experience more difficulties than the young, regularly attending student because of time and financial constraints etc. But what is of more interest is that the other socioeconomic factors have not shown significant differences, i.e. those of family size, father's income and education of parents.

This was also true of the graduate group discussed earlier and one must therefore conclude from that discussion and this further evidence that at Ramkhamhaeng the socioeconomic factors seem to have little effect on a student's success and failure potential (apart from the obvious one of whether he has enough money or not). This, in itself, is a good vindication of the policies at Ramkhamhaeng showing that, given the chance, people can overcome some of the personal and economic disadvantages arising at an earlier stage. The chance comes through a university such as Ramkhamhaeng but not through a university such as Chulalongkorn. The open entry and the flexible teaching arrangements undoubtedly contribute to the success of Ramkhamhaeng in this field.

The other consistent fact arising from the dropout and the graduate groups is the presence of a large proportion of working students in the dropout group and a small proportion in the graduate group. Again, one has to conclude that working and studying does definitely place one at a disadvantage. The difficulties of working and studying at Ramkhamhaeng have already been discussed in chapter 7 and in the postscript to the thesis, I will try to indicate what Thailand is now doing with this problem in its new open university.

The fact that the working students contribute largely to the differences between dropouts and present students can be verified from Tables 8.13-8.15, which divide the dropouts by working and non-working students.

Table 8.13. Working v. non-working dropouts by age on entry

	Working		Non-working	
	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	11	20	23	77
21-23	8	14	5	17
over 23	39	67	2	7

Table 8.14. Working v. non-working dropouts by civil status.

	Working		Non-working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Single	46	59	34	100
Married	32	41	-	-

Table 8.15. Working v. non-working dropouts by residence while studying at Ramkhamhaeng

	Working		Non-working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	43	55	31	91
Elsewhere	35	45	3	9

It is clear that the working group is older on entering, has a much larger percentage of married students and contains a much larger number of students not resident in Bangkok while studying. These were the major factors causing differences between presently enrolled and dropout students.

These findings are in conflict with a similar survey done at an open university experiment in Colombia, which uses similar techniques to Ramkhamhaeng. James and Arboleda discovered that, for the distance learners there, the older students showed more staying power than the younger ones, as did those from the lowest income

groups and those who stayed furthest from the university.[7] My results also conflict with the British Open University's findings on the high dropout rate for young distance learners.[8]

Cultural factors discussed at the end of chapter 2 could account for the Ramkhamhaeng/British Open University differences, together with the differences in the systems operated but the Colombia results are more difficult to interpret. Further comparison of the background factors to the university systems in Thailand and Colombia are needed before an explanation could be attempted.

Table 8.16 illustrates another characteristic distinguishing working from non-working dropouts at Ramkhamhaeng, i.e. number of years studied before dropping out.

Table 8.16. Working and non-working dropouts by years of study before dropout.

	All		Working		Non-working	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 year	25	27	9	16	16	52
2 years	25	27	19	33	5	16
3 years	28	30	23	40	4	13
More than 3	14	15	7	12	6	19

The non-working students were much more likely to leave after their first year than the working students. This immediately leads one to suspect that this was intentional and that the non-working students were there only one year for a specific purpose, perhaps retaking of JHEEE to get into a closed university. This suspicion is partly confirmed by Table 8.17 which looks at intentions after dropping out, in answer to the question: "Do you intend to complete

your studies at some future date? If so, when and where?

Table 8.17. Studying intentions after dropout.

	All		Working		Non-working	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to continue studying elsewhere	32	33	29	44	3	10
Intend to continue studying at Ramkhamhaeng	23	24	20	30	3	10
Do not intend to continue studying	19	20	10	14	9	31
Already studying again	22	23	8	12	14	48

Another point of interest arising from this table is that only 20% of the dropouts were totally discouraged by their first attempt at Ramkhamhaeng and gave up the idea of further study completely. Clearly, already for some, the experience has shown that studying is either beyond them educationally or that they do not have the time to spend. But others feel that they will, in the future, try again, either at Ramkhamhaeng or some other university. (Some mentioned Sukhothai Thammathirat as a possibility).

Since many people maintain an interest in studying, even after dropping out, it is useful to look at the reasons given for dropping out. Seventy-two percent of working students answered the question and 90% of those not working. (See Table 8.18).

Suspicions as to the reasons of those not working for dropping out are thus confirmed. Many of them, especially those who left after one year, were people who were using Ramkhamhaeng as a kind of stop-gap between leaving school and going to a traditional university. Many of them enrolled in subjects which they intended to take for

JHEEE afterwards and this year of university education helped them in the retaking of the entrance examination. Respondents working gave different reasons for dropping out; generally pressure of time and money are the main reasons given, which is as expected.

Table 8.18. Reasons for dropping out

Those working	No.	%
No time to study	23	40
Lack of money	9	16
Could not get time off for examinations/ expensive travelling to examinations	9	16
No time to attend lectures	6	11
Those not working		
Resat and succeeded with JHEEE	16	52
Had to get a job	6	19

Note: Percentages refer to percentage of those answering the question.

However, as I have said, I have reached only a small percentage of the dropouts I attempted to contact; there are many more people who have dropped out. Table 8.19 shows the university's present assessment of dropouts between 1972 and 1976. These figures should be compared with the enrolment at that time as shown in Table 5.1. It is not possible to compute rates of dropout because figures are not available on the year of initial registration of the dropouts.

The dropout problem should be a serious concern of the university. As yet, no real research has been done by them as to why people drop out and how the university could help them. My own research is rather limited here because of the low response rate but this

kind of research done on a larger scale could help the university in the future when it may want to revise some of its techniques of teaching.

Table 8.19. No. of dropouts between 1972 and 1976.

1971-2	1,092
1972-3	233
1973-4	21,486
1974-5	8,221
1975-6	6,032

Note: The figure for 1973-4 is higher than the others since this was the first year when the 2-year limit would come into operation, i.e. if a student fails to enrol in courses for two consecutive years, he is automatically withdrawn from the student register. Clearly, many people who enrolled initially in the first semester of the university did not enrol in any term thereafter.

Source: Some facts and figures about Ramkhamhaeng University (by courtesy of the university).

However, at present, the dropouts are a small number of students compared to the total enrolment of the university and furthermore, many of the dropouts will have a chance to study at Sukhothai Thammathirat when it opens. Sukhothai will cater much more for the working student.

However, undoubtedly a large number of students will continue to drop out of Ramkhamhaeng each year. Some concern is felt at the university for those who begin studying but then have to leave. Clearly, those students who drop out have failed to achieve the most important objective for them in studying at university, i.e. a degree. But a university has other less tangible benefits deriving from its system of operation, its community, etc. and these benefits

for Ramkhamhaeng in particular are investigated below.

What non-academic benefits does Ramkhamhaeng offer its students?

The issue of what Ramkhamhaeng offers besides academic education is an important one. Ramkhamhaeng is a university which treats its students very differently from other Thai universities; more is expected of the students from the point of view of personal input.

The question of what it is that Ramkhamhaeng expects and perhaps develops in its students can partly be looked at by examining student responses to the question of what they thought were the advantages of the system used at Ramkhamhaeng. Table 8.20 presents the responses. Among respondents, 96% of those presently studying answered the question, 98% of the graduates and 92% of the dropouts.

Table 8.20. Advantages of the Ramkhamhaeng system as seen by the students.

	Present		Graduates		Dropouts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Learn to help yourself	90	18	80	26		
Chance for all with ability to study	89	18	46	15	21	20
Teaches perseverance	82	16	40	13		
Can work and study	75	15			5	5
Freedom	55	11	40	13	8	8
Teaches responsibility	49	10	55	18		
Can choose your own major subject	33	6	36	12		
Attendance not required	43	8			8	8
Teaches independence	41	8				

The table shows a mixture of personal and more general issues

raised by all groups. For example, responses such as "chance for all," "choose your own subject", relate to more general freedoms at Ramkhamhaeng. However, points such as "learn to help yourself," "learn independence and responsibility" are also high on the list. It is the second kind of response that many people I talked to consider illustrate Ramkhamhaeng's strongest points. Leaving aside all consideration of educational gain, Ramkhamhaeng offers the chance to learn a lot about living and coping with life, especially to new secondary school leavers who have probably led a very sheltered life until then. There is no spoon-feeding as there is at the other universities. The education is there if you want it; if you make the effort, you succeed; if you do not, you fail and nobody but yourself will be concerned. Probably nobody but yourself will know.

The graduates in particular feel that studying at Ramkhamhaeng developed in them qualities of responsibility and independence. Since they list these qualities as advantages, we must assume that they have proved useful to them in their subsequent careers. Clearly, those outside the university may still have suspicions as to the quality of the academic education Ramkhamhaeng offers - all open universities face this kind of problem. But the graduates of Ramkhamhaeng show other gains from their years of studying besides academic qualifications.

The university feels that this is some kind of compensation for the dropouts too. Evidence from the interviews showed that the staff are concerned that so many students find they cannot continue for whatever reasons but at the same time, the staff feel that the time the students have spent at Ramkhamhaeng will be useful. The feeling expressed was that maybe the students have learned little

about political science or economics but they will have learned a lot about self-control and sticking up for themselves, etc., qualities which will stand them in good stead especially in the 'outside' world.

Concluding remarks

It is clear from this chapter that Ramkhamhaeng has developed into a university to be reckoned with in the Thai situation. It is producing graduates in large numbers and of sufficient quality for the other universities to sit up and take notice. The graduates are also, in a sense, a new breed of graduates in that they have achieved their university success often with some difficulty. Chapter 7 has discussed the teaching-learning system and has shown that it is not without its drawbacks. Perseverance and self-confidence are needed for people to survive the process. This is rather unlike what happens at the other universities, which are rather more cloistered.

Certainly from discussions I had at some of the traditional universities, it became clear to me that, although at first the idea of Ramkhamhaeng had seemed rather an oddity to the closed universities, Ramkhamhaeng's growing success with its teaching methods and the related growing success of its graduates had caused the traditional universities to look at their own methods of teaching and their own system of teaching.

Many Ramkhamhaeng students fall by the wayside but this is not an unusual phenomenon in an open university. The fact that the Government has seen fit to continue their experiment with open higher education by setting up a second open university, although of a different nature, is witness to the success of Ramkhamhaeng in its

nine years of existence.

Notes and references

1. In order to get a fairer comparison, I might have been expected to use only the data for first year students, hence not complicating the issue by ignoring possible differences between years caused by dropout of students from particular social groups. An analysis of the data showed, however, that first year students were not significantly different from the other years on socio-economic factors.

2. D.Wolfle, America's resources of specialised talent, (New York: Harper, 1966), p.163.

3. A.Puntasen, Manpower and educational planning for higher education in Thailand, Economic Development and Cultural Change (Chicago), 1977, vol.25, p.287, footnote 10.

4. S.Ketudat et al., Systems of higher education: Thailand, (ICED, 1978), p.62.

5. M.Blaug, An economic analysis of personal earnings in Thailand, Economic Development and Cultural Change (Chicago), 1974, vol.23, p.18.

6. F.W.Riggs, Thailand: the modernisation of a bureaucratic polity, (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1966), p.307, quoted in R.F.Zimmerman, Reflections on the collapse of democracy in Thailand, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978), (Occasional Papers Series, no.50), p.10.

7. A.James and J.Arboleda, El Proyecto Universidad Desescolarizada: a feasibility study of teaching at a distance in Colombia, S.A., Higher Education (Amsterdam), 1979, vol.8, p.275.

8. The door stood open, Summary of the Report on an evaluation of the Open University's Younger Students Pilot Scheme, (Milton Keynes, 1980).

Chapter 9. Conclusions.

Ramkhamhaeng is a university quite unlike other universities both in Thailand and outside; and quite different from other open universities as discussed in chapter 2. It is undoubtedly a particularly Thai solution to the problem of expanding higher education. Yet it is a Thai solution to a problem which is not particularly Thai. Chapter 1 of this thesis explained at some length the pressures for higher education expansion in recent years. The reasons for this pressure included such factors as general population growth, increased provision of education at the lower levels, official concern with expanding access and so on. These are issues which all developing countries face and will continue to face in the future. This chapter will attempt to assess the relevance and usefulness of 'the Ramkhamhaeng solution' to the problem of how to expand higher education provision.

Despite the fact that Ramkhamhaeng is a rather unique kind of open university, it is still classifiable as an open university since it satisfies the two conditions I stated in chapter 2, i.e.:

1. It opens access to a wider clientele than the traditional universities and

2. It uses the media for teaching purposes.

In chapter 2, I stated that according to Harris and Williams, the advantages of having an open university were generally agreed to be threefold:

"1. It provides a wider opportunity by extending the access further afield and hence moves away from elitism.

2. It provides education for the largest number at the smallest cost.

3. It provides education for the large number of people who for a variety of reasons are not able or do not want to register in a university of the traditional type but who still wish to obtain formal qualifications.[1]

Throughout this chapter, these points will be discussed in the light of the Ramkhamhaeng experience, to see how far Ramkhamhaeng indicates the feasibility of implementing them.

The secondary school leaver problem

One of the original reasons for setting up Ramkhamhaeng was to accommodate the increasing number of people finishing secondary school who were unable to get in to one of the traditional universities. The secondary school leavers and what to do with them has been becoming a more and more important problem over the years, not only in Thailand but also in other countries, both developed and developing. As was pointed out in chapter 1, the person who finishes secondary school (i.e. who goes beyond the compulsory years) has normally had a mainly academic training and is not easily directly employable on the job market. There seems little option then but to give him further 'preparation' to make him more employable.

If specialised preparation were the only issue at stake here, one would probably not think first of university education as the most appropriate form of training for these school leavers. Some training at the middle-level manpower range in vocational training institutions or through work experience for some more clearly vocational skill would perhaps be thought a better solution. This is the path usually taken by those who leave school at the end of the compulsory period. But those who have gone beyond this period usually have different expectations and aspirations.

Thus the challenge in solving the secondary school leaver problem is not merely one of providing 'training', in any form, for this group; financial, social and political considerations must also be taken into account. Most of the secondary school leavers have already had the chance of a vocational as opposed to an academic education and have chosen the latter. Few would be happy if forced to go back to vocational education after secondary school.

The reasons for this are partly financial in nature, partly related to opportunities for employment. Table 1.3 has indicated the kind of wage differentials often applying to people with different levels of education in developing countries. The important step seems to be the obtaining of a degree. Clearly, too, general education (up to and including university) usually opens up more opportunities while vocational education narrows them down. With the increase in the number of people completing secondary education and the general raising of 'consciousness' (cf. Freire) which an expanded educational system brings, it is becoming more and more difficult to withhold the chance of university education from secondary school leavers. As Simmons points out, middle and upper income families are the most outspoken when reduced funding for education is suggested. Governments are not always able to ignore this pressure group since they are often the main source of political support for a Government.[2] But, for financial reasons, Governments cannot contemplate the setting-up of traditional-type universities for all who would like to avail themselves of them.

The Thai solution of what to do with the secondary school graduates is to provide university education for all of them who desire it. But to provide university education of a type and at

a cost which places a relatively small burden on the national resources. The costs are kept down by carrying out everything on a large scale and cutting out many of the expensive elements of a traditional university, such as low student-teacher ratios. By using this kind of open university, the student-staff ratio is kept very high. Secondly, the kind of courses offered are relatively cheap to provide, usually subjects basically requiring written textbooks and little practical work or expensive equipment. Psacharopoulos points out that specialised technical and vocational university subjects are on average more than twice as expensive as general subjects (see Table 4.16).

The relative cheapness of a university such as Ramkhamhaeng is shown by Table 9.1 which indicates the intended Government Budget allocation for the traditional Thai universities and for Ramkhamhaeng for the years ahead.

It is difficult to assess the cost/student for Ramkhamhaeng since the enrolment figures for the future years are uncertain. However, some impression of the differential costs can be obtained if one bears in mind that for 1981-2, the Ramkhamhaeng intake (i.e. specifically new students) will be 150,000 and for the years thereafter will probably be 100,000. As was said in chapter 2, open university techniques allow the exploitation of economies of scale which are denied to traditional universities. Clearly here, the type of courses offered, i.e. mainly social sciences, makes Ramkhamhaeng even cheaper to organise.

What the Thai Government has thus achieved is, put very basically, to accommodate all the secondary school leavers at a rela-

tively small cost. They could thus be said to have 'solved the secondary school leaver problem.'

Table 9.1. Government budget allocation for universities, 1980-87.

	Trad. univ. (m. of baht)	No. of students	Cost per student	Ramkhamhaeng (m. of baht)
1980-1	3,105.41			89.39
1981-2	3,500.17	108,000	32,409	107.26
1982-3	4,099.64	115,000	35,649	128.71
1983-4	4,823.20	123,000	39,213	154.45
1984-5	5,650.55	131,000	43,134	185.34
1985-6	6,595.13	139,000	47,447	222.40
1986-7	7,776.46	149,000	52,191	266.88

Source: National Economic and Social Development Board, Education Section, Starting budget for the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan, (Bangkok, 1980), (in Thai), p.55.

This last statement needs much further expansion. Arguments are bound to be raised that putting everyone back into the education system again is not at all to solve the problem but merely to shelve it. It may be claimed that these people will not be any more employable after four years of university than they are now, given the nature of the subjects studied and the state of the job market at present.

Against such a line of reasoning, one can put the following points. Firstly, it is not necessarily true that these secondary school leavers are not any more employable when they finish their degree courses. If one looks at education generally, one must say that all education is a vocationally relevant experience, although some is more clearly vocational then others.

In other words, all education provides the opportunity for additional learning. What a university such as Ramkhamhaeng can be seen as transmitting, besides course content itself, has been discussed in the previous chapter but embraces such things as initiative, self-confidence, independence, etc. Thus, although graduates may have few concrete skills, they may well have acquired more abstract skills (of reasoning, communicating, etc.), possibly of greater use to themselves and to the country, and providing a basis for acquiring more intensive training or for learning more readily from work experience at a later stage.

This kind of reasoning is further developed by Psacharopoulos in a recent paper on universities in developing countries which suggested that, in fact, arts and social science graduates are not less employable than, for example, science graduates but are perhaps more employable because of the flexibility they still have in looking for jobs after graduation. A science or engineering graduate has a rather limited choice of occupation available. Arts and social science graduates, because they have no definite career suggested by their degree subjects, have a wider choice of careers or are able to change jobs more successfully.[3]

Undoubtedly, the Thai Government's original decision in the area of subjects to be offered at Ramkhamhaeng was based on considerations of the cost and the feasibility of using this kind of open type of system and, fortunately, this decision appears to have been a good one. The subject areas which have grown rapidly can still provide employment fairly directly for graduates, for example, law and political science.

Undoubtedly, there is graduate unemployment but this is a worldwide problem. What is interesting is that the unemployment

problem has not intensified with the establishment of Ramkhamhaeng. This is particularly important if we think not only of the graduates of the university but also of the large number of people who drop out. The university administration feels that many students use a year or two at Ramkhamhaeng as a kind of cooling-off period, a chance to assess more correctly the possibilities for the future. They may in the end decide to stay on and finish their higher education. Or they may decide to leave before completion and take up some occupation. Undoubtedly, few will leave voluntarily if they do not have a job to go to.

Thus Ramkhamhaeng is serving not only an educational function but also a social, perhaps a political one. Ramkhamhaeng gives the chance to secondary school graduates to embark on what may be a worthwhile endeavour but it also gives the chance to mature, perhaps a more important opportunity. A secondary school leaver may be in a rather poor position to decide what his future will be. An extra year or two spent at Ramkhamhaeng may just be enough to make him able to see what he could be doing.

One may think that this is all rather a waste, if Ramkhamhaeng is merely a cooling-off institution, prepared to take on a large number of people that it will simply 'carry' over a period of time, so that the secondary school leaver then ceases to be a problem. But it would be wrong to think of Ramkhamhaeng only in this way. It is also a university in its own right. A large number of its students are intending to continue and finish their degree.

The Government has gambled on the fact that the school leaver would not reappear as a problem at a later stage. And the gamble so far seems to have paid off. Has the school leaver problem then been successfully solved?

On the surface, the answer must certainly be 'yes,' since the school leaver ceases to be an immediate problem for the government. But this does not mean that Ramkhamhaeng is the perfect solution. Though the secondary school leavers have disappeared from the 'problem area', what happens to them at a university such as Ramkhamhaeng, i.e. an open university, requires consideration. In chapter 2, evidence was produced from the British Open University and from a feasibility study in Colombia which indicated that open university education was not satisfactory for new secondary school leavers; they drop out in greater numbers than older students at these institutions. Evidence from my own research indicates that this is not true of the students at Ramkhamhaeng. The younger students are as successful and often more successful than the older students in completing their studies. One of the important deciding factors in success and failure (i.e. dropout) at Ramkhamhaeng is concerned more specifically with attempting to combine working and studying. It is at this point that the system of Ramkhamhaeng and that of the British Open University part company in that all students at the British Open University and at the university considered in Colombia are working and studying. But this is not true of Ramkhamhaeng. One may then accept that when students are working and studying, the younger students, i.e. the new secondary school leavers, experience much greater problems. But the conclusion drawn from the British Open University study, that open university education is thus inappropriate for younger students, may be fallacious. The experience of Ramkhamhaeng would seem to suggest that if one has an open-type university education but does <u>not</u> require students to be working and studying, then the younger students perform as well as older students.

Clearly, the comparison between the British Open University and Ramkhamhaeng has limited usefulness in that Ramkhamhaeng does offer face-to-face lectures to students on an extensive basis. But the experience of Ramkhamhaeng indicates that if students are studying full-time, then the answer to the question of open or traditional university education for 18-year olds (or equivalent) is less clear cut. I hesitate to state with conviction that my research disproves the conclusion drawn from the British Open University work but there are clearly other factors to take into account before one can say whether open university education is suitable or not for new secondary school leavers.

But undoubtedly, Ramkhamhaeng is a solution to the problem of the high cost per student in traditional higher education systems in developing countries as discussed in chapter 2, thus fulfilling the second of Harris and Williams' stated advantages of open universities. It would clearly not have been possible to attempt to accommodate all the secondary school leavers in traditional-type universities.

Expanded access

Another major concern for the Thai Government was with extending access to higher education. Chapter 1 has dealt with the general question of access in some detail. There it was pointed out that, due to economic restraints, entrance to university has become highly selective in most countries in the world. Chapter 2 showed how some of the developed countries, for example, the US and Japan, have come closer to removing the need for selection, by providing traditional-type university and college places for almost all of those who want them. It was pointed out, however, that much of the cost for this

had to be borne by the individual, hence those without money would still be at a serious disadvantage.

As far as Ramkhamhaeng is concerned, it has managed to do two things at once:

1. It has opened access to higher education to all with ability (and who can afford it).

2. It has given the chance to those with limited funds to study while working.

Thus Ramkhamhaeng has not only expanded the number of university places available, it has also made these places available to a different kind of student from the traditional universities. This kind of attempt to expand access and to extend access is in itself not different from the kind of attempts made by Western countries in recent years (see chapter 2). What distinguishes Ramkhamhaeng according to my research is the success their expansion and extension policies have had. Chapter 6 of my thesis has isolated the differences between students at two of the traditional Thai universities and Ramkhamhaeng students. The results show that Ramkhamhaeng students come from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds than traditional students.

The attempts of the Western European countries in this area appear to have been much less successful. It is useful here to refer to quotes from two writers mentioned earlier. Frankel and Halsey said:

> "The typical history of educational expansion in the 1950's and 1960's for the OECD countries can be represented by a graph of inequality of attainment between the above mentioned social categories which has shifted markedly upwards without changing its slope. In other words, relative chances have not altered materially despite expansion." (4)

And Debeauvais:

> "L'expérience du théâtre populaire a appris qu'on ne conquiert un public nouveau que sur les franges; ce sont ceux qui sont les plus preparés à profiter de l'ouverture des institutions fermées qui y accèdent et non les plus defavorisés." (5)

Why have so many people taken the chance to go to Ramkhamhaeng, when in other places and at other times, attempts such as these have been singularly unsuccessful at increasing access? The answer is hard to pinpoint but must be sought in at least two directions:

1. The fact that higher education is highly valued by the population in general.

The value attributed to higher education arises from two sources: one, because higher education is a passport to employment in the modern sector of the economy and hence to a relatively high salary; and two, because only a small number of people can reach the higher education level, there is status attached to the possession of a degree. These, of course, relate to Dore's 'diploma disease.'

Table 1.3 indicated the differential salaries obtained by people with different levels of educational qualification. These differences are much higher in developing countries than in developed countries hence the obtaining of a university degree is in a sense more important in the developing countries. Ramkhamhaeng opens the way for obtaining a degree to a much larger number of people and a wider range of people. This greater relative importance of university education to people in developing countries may partly explain why attempts to extend access in a developing country (in this case, Thailand) can be more successful.

It is unfortunate that there are not other open universities

in the developing world which have been established sufficiently long for comparisons to be possible. Only an example from the developed world, that of the British Open University, is possible. In chapter 6, it was pointed out that only 8% of the Open University students in 1971-2 were working class (see note 7, chapter 6). Since then, the situation has changed in that, in 1974, it was reported that more manual workers, clerical and office staff were applying to the Open University.[6] However, the comparison is not wholly apt, since the British Open University is aiming at a different target population, i.e. adults who are already in paid employment, whereas Ramkhamhaeng is open to new secondary school leavers also.

2. The fact that there is a much larger lower economic group to reach in a developing country.

In the case of Thailand, approximately 80% of the population is employed in agricultural work. The advantages of Ramkhamhaeng for this lower-income group arise from two sources: the reduced cost of studying brought about by cheaper studying fees at the university and the removal of the need to live in Bangkok which would add greatly to the cost of studying for poorer families; and the fact that students may work while studying.

Although it must be admitted that most students at Ramkhamhaeng do not work and study, the chance is there. Thus even for those who come from the lowest socioeconomic levels, the secondary education they have completed gives them a chance to take up employment which will probably be able to provide sufficient income to pay for fees. Fees are actually three-quarters of what is charged at traditional universities and textbooks are sold at cost price. (See chapter 7).

Thus the system at Ramkhamhaeng can cut through the barriers of educational and socioeconomic disadvantage more effectively than similar institutions in the West. But the equality of access problem has by no means been completely solved. Two points stand out rather clearly at Ramkhamhaeng:

1. that those who are working and studying are at a disadvantage compared with those who are not so burdened and

2. that the presence of the secondary school graduation or leaving qualification reduces the impact of the idea of expanding access.

1. Those working and studying. The fact that those working and studying are at a disadvantage would only be important from the access point of view if the people who do work are different, let us say from the point of view of socioeconomic status, from those not working. In fact, my research indicates that the major difference is that the working student population contains a larger percentage of mature students than the non-working group, i.e. mature students are at a disadvantage.

This is an important point as far as access is concerned,

especially when looked at in the wider context of other countries. Chapter 2 was careful to point out that many of the moves towards increasing access in the developed countries (and some developing countries) have been towards making education available to adults who perhaps missed out before.

But this is clearly not the main target group at Ramkhamhaeng and, as was pointed out in chapter 2, is obviously not the main bias of other open universities in Asia. While it would be thought equitable to consider adults who have missed out on education in previous years, the emphasis must surely be on educating the young generation. The working adult already has employment, experience, etc. The young adults have none of this and 'need' university education more than the working adults as a passport to better job prospects in the future.

Social rates of return analysts might argue that investing in adults might then be a more profitable venture. This is a controversial point. But if one is thinking of future national development, it seems clear that the present younger generation must have a large contribution to make, especially when one takes into account the demographic pattern in developing countries where the younger people form the bulk of the population. As I have said earlier, 'adult' education at university level seems to be rather a luxury which the developed countries may now be able to afford. The developing countries are still struggling to educate the present generation of students.

Thus, although Ramkhamhaeng may look as if it has failed somewhat in its attempt to deal with mature students, it would be rash to judge the university on this criterion. Perhaps one should judge the university rather on the basis of its provision for secondary

school leavers and in that area, it cannot be denied that access has been greatly expanded.

The fact that the working students do not differ from the non-working students on the basic socioeconomic data might lead one to think that the provision for working and studying has not been particularly helpful for those in the lower socioeconomic group. Chapter 6 deals with this point in more detail and I suggest that some students who work for their parents and are unsalaried may not have recorded this as 'work' on the questionnaires. It was also pointed out that paid employment is difficult to find in the rural areas and even in Bangkok, it is often difficult to find work unless one has 'connections.' People from the lowest socioeconomic groups are unlikely to have these 'connections.'

However, it is still true that 43% of my sampled students from Ramkhamhaeng said that they were working while studying and 29% of all those sampled at Ramkhamhaeng said that they relied on their income from working to cover the cost of studying. (See Tables 6.12 and 6.13).

2. The secondary school leaving certificate qualification. In chapter 1, much was made of the logic of using 'ability' as a selection criterion, given the fact that selection was to take place at all. Moreover, since a university offers 'higher' education, and that means higher than secondary school level, it would seem natural to demand this minimum level of qualification, at least from people who have had the chance to complete secondary education. Furthermore, one can see from the enrolment patterns at Ramkhamhaeng that, in spite of this restriction, a very large number of people can take up the chance of university education offered.

What Ramkhamhaeng has tried to do is to reduce some of the

barriers caused by academic selection criteria. Chapter 1 has discussed in detail what these barriers are, indicating that socio-economic differences in access to education and attitudes to education may all result in certain groups being at a disadvantage in the field of education. Chapters 4 and 6 have touched specifically on where the barriers are in Thailand, i.e. rural-urban, middle class-working class, etc. Ramkhamhaeng does not claim to solve all the problems. Only a vast investment in education at the lower levels would have an impact on the problem in any substantial way.

But evidence from Ramkhamhaeng shows that at least some inroads have been made into the unequal access problem. This is obviously one of the advantages of a university of this kind. Although, in effect, you may be serving more of a particular kind of student, i.e. those from lower income, less well-educated families, leaving the traditional universities to cater for the more privileged classes, the fact that more opportunities now exist is a great achievement. Clearly, Ramkhamhaeng students come from higher income groups too but a much smaller percentage than attend a university such as Chulalongkorn; Chula has a particularly small representation of students from the lower income groups.

What is an even better achievement is that students from these more diverse backgrounds are achieving success at Ramkhamhaeng despite the difficulties put in their path. Much of the success of Ramkhamhaeng has depended on the fact that there has been an attempt to maintain the same kind of academic standards as at the other Thai universities. At this point, then, it might be useful to move on to the question of quality at Ramkhamhaeng and how this has been and can be sustained.

Quality and academic standards

The issue of quality in education is a nebulous concept, difficult to define and difficult to evaluate. It is generally agreed that there are two ways of looking at quality:

1. to evaluate a system from within, using internal criteria of quality

2. to view a system from without using criteria such as fitness and relevance to the needs of the environment.[7]

I will try to look at both in this section.

Chapter 7 has dealt at great length with the teaching-learning system already. Basically there are two strands: the traditional lecture system, for those who wish to attend, and the distance-learning components, using mass media and specially prepared textbooks for those who do not. The distance-learning components are available to those who fall into the regular student category also.

In choosing to operate this dual-type system, Ramkhamhaeng is attempting to cater for the needs of a variety of students. I have discussed in a previous section the problem of deciding what kind of university education is appropriate for new secondary school leavers. Ramkhamhaeng has attempted to offer students a university education which is both familiar to them but at the same time different in several ways from that offered at a traditional university. For example, lectures are a method of university instruction familiar to all students but the lectures are backed up by little staff-student contact. The use of the media and specially prepared textbooks to replace lectures for the distance learners may introduce aspects of learning that are unfamiliar to students.

There are clearly deficiencies in the teaching-learning system at Ramkhamhaeng. Part of these at least arise from the size of the

university which allows little contact between staff and students even if students attend university regularly. However, this lack of contact is not unusual in many undergraduate systems of university education around the world, for example, the US and some of the European universities.

But the lack of direct contact is only part of the problem. There is also a lack of indirect contact and by this I mean the submission of written materials by students for assessment. Again, the size of the university plays a part in this (see chapter 7). This means that final examinations are the only method of assessment in most cases. Assessment in university is a rather controversial subject but the trend seems to be towards incorporating more opportunities for continuous assessment in a university course. Continuous assessment is not possible at Ramkhamhaeng. However, quality, not techniques of assessment, is the issue in this section. Thus although written papers etc. may add to a teacher's ability to assess a student, the fact that examinations only are used would not detract from the university 'standards.'

A further problem of Ramkhamhaeng is the teaching of the distance students. The university philosophy was to offer a chance both to those who wanted to study in a more traditional-type way, and to those who chose to study at a distance, for example, for reasons of employment or place of residence. The university, however, makes little concession to those distance learners, offering them somewhat similar fare to regular attenders but greatly reduced in quantity.

The results discussed in chapter 8 concerning the graduates and the dropouts clearly show that these distance learners perform less well than those attending regularly. Part of the problem is undoub-

tedly due to students' lack of time; lack of time for studying and lack of time for attending examinations. Clearly regional examination centres would alleviate the second problem.

But what is more at issue is whether these students also need regional studying centres where they could meet with staff and discuss problems of studying etc. In chapter 2, it was pointed out that many open learning systems do not offer much tutorial contact of this sort. The British Open University does but this is expensive and they have not found any correlation between the use of the tutorial services and success in examinations. Entwistle however, said that students did need contact with tutors or at least other students.

My own research indicates that there is no clear-cut answer to the question of the need for local centres. In the case of Thailand, the cultural and social background of the students make approaching a teacher with problems rather difficult. Although students expressed a desire for more contact, few take the opportunities that are available to them. Undoubtedly, different students have different needs in this area and different kinds of societies will deal with these needs in different ways. Perhaps more students would be successful at Ramkhamhaeng if there were more staff-student contact. But some experiments with increased contact in some form would be required before definite conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, the size of the university would mean that this kind of contact would be expensive to provide. Part of the reason for setting-up open universities is that they have economic advantages over traditional universities because of the higher student/teacher ratios.

What clearly happens in open university education is that an attempt is made to cut down the services offered to the bare mini-

mum while still retaining the level of education at traditional university standards. It is probably wrong then to attempt to compare traditional university and open university mthods of teaching. If one wants to make comparisons at all, one should rather look at the products of the two systems.

For any new university, it takes time before the degree from that university becomes acceptable to employers. This arises because when one has a degree from an established university, 'outsiders' have some understanding of what the degree means in terms of contemporary 'standards.' A degree from a new university is less easy to place in this system of standards. Clearly those outside the university system are in a poor position to decide on the standard of any particular new degree; some form of validation is essential. In the case of Thailand, the validation of the Ramkhamhaeng degree comes from the success of its graduates as compared to graduates of the other universities. The most direct evidence of the success of the graduates is the public examinations, for example, Civil Service Examinations, Bar Examinations, etc. In both these cases, Ramkhamhaeng graduates have consistently appeared high on the list. This is at least some vindication of the teaching and learning system. My discussions with staff at other Thai universities also confirmed that Ramkhamhaeng graduates were thought of in equal terms.

The percentage of people who graduate from Ramkhamhaeng is undoubtedly small and this can be seen as a criticism of the university's teaching methods. Undoubtedly, the teaching methods have a part to play. But as I have said, a university such as Ramkhamhaeng is not expected to provide the facilities and back-up of a traditional university. If it did, more students might be successful but Ramkhamhaeng would no longer be economically feasible for the

Government. There has to be some compromise on this.

But Ramkhamhaeng has not fallen into the trap suggested by Crosland (see chapter 2). He argued that maintaining 'standards' was not a practicable policy for open universities but foresaw that there would be a great pressure to graduate large numbers of students. The evidence from Ramkhamhaeng so far is that it is possible to maintain standards and there is little pressure to increase the graduation rate.

One can find at least two satisfactory explanations for this. One is that the students themselves are conscious of their image as an open university (see Table 7.2) and they would not like to see 'standards drop,' since this would diminish the value of their own degree. The student body can undoubtedly exert some pressure in Thailand (see the last section in this chapter) but in this area there seems to be little dissent.

Secondly, the Government, the other great pressure group on the universities, must also be unwilling to exert pressure on Ramkhamhaeng to increase graduation rates, mainly because this would clearly cause some difficulties on the job market. Only if the economy was in urgent need of more graduates would this pressure be expected. Already the number of people who graduate from Ramkhamhaeng is relatively large compared to the figures for the other universities. Graduate unemployment is not a large problem in Thailand at present but if, for example, the Ramkhamhaeng graduation figures rose to 20,000/year and more, there would be a great pressure on the job market. This concern with graduates and their employment is related to the 'external quality' of Ramkhamhaeng, i.e. its relevance to the needs of society. The 'relevance' of Arts and Social Science graduates to a country's development has already

been dealt with in this chapter.

The issues of quality and academic standards remain as nebulous as before but this discussion has attempted to show that an open university can maintain these in its teaching programme; there are no particular obstacles in the operation of an open university which make it more difficult to maintain standards and incorporate 'quality' than at a traditional university. The reason why we discuss this at all as a problem is that open universities operate in a different (but not necessarily less effective) way. Clearly, as with any traditional university, the onus rests with each individual institution to devise and operate a system which is satisfactory to those who will reap the benefits.

Planning and development

From the initiation of Ramkhamhaeng, the organisation and administration of the university has been characterised by a lack of long-term planning and a lack of planned development. It is not

difficult to see why this happened. Part of the reason must be the undue haste with which the university came into existence, leaving literally only a few months in which to finalise the rather vague statements made as to the form the university would take. Admittedly, the 'planning' had been going ahead for some time before this but without any real research into such things as the amount of demand there would be for places at the university or what kind of students would be applying and what their needs would be.

The planners, however, thought thay started with an advantage in that Ramkhamhaeng would be Thailand's second experience with open education at the level of higher education; Thammasat University had opened with a similar policy to the one proposed for Ramkhamhaeng.

Even then, the reasons why Thammasat had finally to change its admission policy do not seem to have been fully investigated. The main one was that the number of students became too much for the university to handle efficiently. Nine years after Ramkhamhaeng has opened, the same problem is occurring.

In a sense, the initial planners may have been correct in that the problem of numbers has not become really severe until fairly recently. They could not have been expected to foresee a change in Government policy towards secondary school graduation and the structure of secondary education in 1977. This policy change does, however, exemplify yet again, a lack of foresight on the part of the Government. It seems to have been clear to everyone except the Ministry of Education what effect this would have on the enrolment at Ramkhamhaeng. Perhaps it is fair to say, however, that this is as much a coordination problem as a planning one. The fact that the education system is administered by three separate Ministries leads

to all manner of confusion throughout the system. But even as late as 1977, the Office of University Affairs, despite its knowledge of the change in secondary education policy, was making gross underestimations of the effect this would have on Ramkhamhaeng enrolment.[8]

The underestimation aside, Ramkhamhaeng has been singularly absent from what planning there has been at the higher education level. Evidence of this is clear from a look at the National Economic and Social Development Plans in recent years. Only in the latest Plan is Ramkhamhaeng given a specific mention and then only a small mention, even at a time when the enrolment at Ramkhamhaeng was already higher than all of the other universities put together. Ramkhamhaeng has always been the poor relation in the university system. In a way nothing and everything has been expected of it, i.e. it has been expected to solve all the problems which the other universities could not handle, especially with respect to numbers but it was never seriously thought that Ramkhamhaeng graduates would be able to hold their own against those of the closed universities. This attitude is now changing; many of the R.U. graduates have gained good results in the public examinations and in the examinations for entry to graduate school in the traditional universities. Furthermore, from my discussions with staff at the traditional universities and government officials, it was clear that Ramkhamhaeng had begun to have an impact on them too.

But it is clear that in this kind of dimate, the university has not been able to look to the future very seriously. Nine years after its opening, it is still struggling to solve day-to-day and year-to-year problems without any chance to look further ahead. It was, for example, only in August 1978 that the university was

informed that it would have to take in 140,000 new students per year for the next two years, despite its objections that it could handle at most 10,000.[9] The objections were overruled and the university set to, looking for some way of handling this. The solution was a new campus; money had to be looked for, a site had to be found and building on this site is now complete. The 'miracle' has again been accomplished and the university has taken in its 140,000 new students in the hope that this will be the last time they will be asked to do the impossible.

So far, I have been referring to the lack of planning in a rather negative fashion but if one stands back and looks at Ramkhamhaeng, one can see that in reality, the lack of planning, the lack of knowledge about the years ahead, has been its greatest asset. It has given flexibility to the system and has been the overriding reason why the university has been able to cope with a demand far in excess of all expectations. The flexibility arises from the kind of system they operate whereby teachers quite sanguinely accept the fact that they will be teaching classes of 10,000 this year which perhaps were only 3,000 the year before.

What is required of the university is a highly efficient administrative staff who can set their minds to solving huge problems without batting an eyelid. The examination system, for example, is perhaps the most affected by the increase in numbers each year but the examination system is so efficiently organised that the university's main concern last year was with the practical issue of where everyone was going to park their cars, rather than how they would accommodate the examinations themselves.

When one looks at this flexibility in planning and then looks at the literature on planning educational change, one is struck

by the disparity between the theory and the practice, as displayed by Ramkhamhaeng. The whole essence of Ramkhamhaeng is that there have been no planned changes of any kind. The changes that have come about have come about because of day-to-day problems to be solved. The initial decision to set up Ramkhamhaeng was taken because the 'planners' looked back to how Thailand had solved the same kind of problem in earlier years, i.e. with the opening of Thammasat University in 1943. It seems inconceivable to us that there was little preparation for a university which was to be vastly different from the other Thai universities both in size and in kind. But this is what happened.

The Thais have taken a very pragmatic view of Ramkhamhaeng; they have let it go with the wind, as it were, and undoubtedly, there have been big problems. But surely Ramkhamhaeng is a case where planning of a formal kind would not have allowed it to respond to the kind of demand which arose. From the start, they decided that the function of this new university was to satisfy a social demand and this is exactly what they have managed to do. They have 'played it by ear' and this has paid off.

I am not hereby dismissing the need for planning in all educational systems. I am merely saying that in dealing with this common problem, the Thais have adopted a rather radical solution. The solution was to set up a university the like of which has not been seen before. This has meant going outside the normal methods of thinking about education. They have undoubtedly learned much from the experience and in the postscript I will try to show what they have learned and how they are trying to apply this in the setting-up of their new open university. They took a risk but it was a calculated one. They did not seek help from international agencies

or engage international advisers but they took a step entirely of their own choice.

But we must not hereby throw caution to the winds and abandon planning of any sort. What it is important to understand from this is that it is not always essential to launch a vast, planning programme especially when this itself can be enormously expensive. The developing countries are concerned with economy particularly when considering university education. Clearly some planning is essential but a project of this kind can go ahead with a minimum of planning if we take Ramkhamhaeng as an example.

The political considerations

Until now, little mention has been made of the political problems likely to be caused by the large number of students at Ramkhamhaeng, the large graduating class and the large number of drop-outs.

In chapter 1, mention was made of the kind of political problems that can arise with student populations in developing countries. According to Lipset, factors such as the situation of universities in urban centres, large numbers of people enrolled in social science subjects, poor employment prospects, were all factors leading to student uprisings and demonstrations. Looked at in this light, Ramkhamhaeng would seem to be an institution falling into all these categories and hence ripe for'political activity.'

This reasoning may be particularly relevant to the Thai situation where, in the last ten years, two student uprisings have led to the overthrow of the Government, in 1973 and 1976. On both occasions, it was student concern with the Government policies that produced the first big demonstrations which later turned into bloody

rioting, extensive killing and destruction of property. Of the traditional universities, Thammasat and Chulalongkorn have always been the most concerned with political matters, Thammasat particularly, a not unsurprising fact since it is the University of Moral and Political Sciences.

Much analysis has been done of the background to the student uprisings and many political commentators have turned their attention to Ramkhamhaeng to see what part the new university played in the events of 1973 and 1976. Certainly, in 1973, the origins of the student revolution can be traced directly to Ramkhamhaeng. In June of that year, the National Student Centre of Thailand led and organised the largest student demonstration ever seen to protest the expulsion of nine Ramkhamhaeng students who had written a satire on the decision of the Thanom-Praphas regime to extend their term in office for one further year.[10] Ultimately, the nine students were reinstated and the Rector of Ramkhamhaeng was forced to resign.

The situation was thus temporarily defused but blew up again later that year in October into a full-scale revolution, bringing down the Government.

Prizzia and Sinsawasdi have done some research into the causes of the student uprisings and other student uprisings of a similar nature. As in most developing countries, they discovered that in Thailand, students majoring in sociology, economics, anthropology, history and political science are inclined to the left and/or political participation, while students of commerce are inclined to the right with science students in the middle.[11]

In 1971, Prizzia herself said that a factor related to student activities, consistently cited by scholars, is a rapid increase in university enrolments that is incommensurate with the rate of

increase of teaching staff and university facilities.[12] This led Prizzia and Sinsawasdi to conclude that the sudden increase in enrolment in Thai universities, without the necessary facilities to accommodate them, was a major underlying cause of the increase of both the intensity and the frequency of student activities from 1971 to 1973.[13] This is taken by me to refer to the establishment of Ramkhamhaeng.

Both authors also expressed concern that since the graduating class of Ramkhamhaeng would exceed 5,000 students, the largest in Thailand ever, this would only add to student insecurities about prospects for employment,[14] the implication being that further student activity was very probable.

However much Ramkhamhaeng was the root of the 1973 uprising, when one looks at the 1976 uprising, again student inspired, Ramkhamhaeng plays a much less important part. In that year, activity was centred around Thammasat, as usual, and although the students arrested at that time included two Ramkhamhaeng students, this is not sufficient in itself to suggest that the presence of a university such as Ramkhamhaeng caused greater political activity to arise.

The student concerns were economic and political in nature and were rather a product of the climate in the political sphere at the time as opposed to being an outcome of the educational changes that had taken place.[15]

Undoubtedly, Ramkhamhaeng students took part in the demonstrations of that year, as did students of all the universities and the sheer size of the student population at Ramkhamhaeng swelled the numbers but it is unlikely that, if Ramkhamhaeng was not in existence, the same revolution would not have taken place. The university administration itself points out that, in a university

the size of Ramkhamhaeng, there will undoubtedly be student activists.[16] This does not mean, however, that the university produces activists as such.

The large enrolments in Ramkhamhaeng have come after 1976 and the graduation classes are now well beyond the 5,000 mentioned earlier. So far, there has been no further political trouble. The fact that the Government has allowed Ramkhamhaeng to grow to the size it has must surely be an indication of its feeling towards the university politically. Furthermore, in 1979, the Office of University Affairs insisted that Ramkhamhaeng take a further 140,000 students each year for the coming two years, the justification being that if these people could not find a university place, "some social or political problem affecting the stability of the Government or the security of the nation" might arise.[17] The implication here is that the problem lies not within Ramkhamhaeng but with the people who do not get in.

Why, then, has there been no political problem with Ramkhamhaeng students to the present? My own assessment of the situation, with which the university administration concurred, is that it is the nature of Ramkhamhaeng which has so far prevented this from happening. Students at Ramkhamhaeng have much more freedom that at the other universities with respect to class attendance, dress regulations, etc. They are likewise as free as the other students to organise themselves politically if they so desire. (It must be pointed out, however, that the Government does set limits on the kinds of organisations students may have).

In some ways, it is infinitely harder to organise anything at Ramkhamhaeng because of the lack of cohesiveness among the students. Students do not naturally form groups as a class or a faculty

because of the numbers involved. Nor do students necessarily attend university regularly, though many do. These, in themselves, tend to dissipate the likelihood of political activity. In some ways, Ramkhamhaeng is just too big for this to happen.

As far as graduates and dropouts are concerned, the fact that no problems have arisen, one would like to think, was because of some of the things mentioned earlier concerning what the university teaches students outside the academic curriculum. This may be misplaced and naive optimism and only time will tell how correct this analysis is.

Despite any evidence of political trouble, the university and the Government must surely be concerned about the future. If one wants to, one can look for evidence of Government anxiety in the setting-up of Sukhothai Thammathirat University. Certainly, many of the Ramkhamhaeng staff feel that political interests of all kinds lie behind this new university.

The potential for political trouble is undoubtedly there but in fact, the potential is probably less than at the other universities in Thailand. The size and the style of the university seem to be important factors in this area.

Conclusions

What then can one draw as overall conclusions about the use of open universities as a route to higher education expansion in developing countries? It is undoubtedly true that, as far as Thailand is concerned, Ramkhamhaeng has been a successful attempt to solve the problem of how to expand higher education quickly and economically. If one looks back to the beginning of this chapter and the reasons why open universities have been turned to, one can see

that Ramkhamhaeng satisfies all these criteria, i.e.:

1. It provides a wider opportunity by extending the access further afield and hence moves away from elitism.

2. It provides education for the largest number at the smallest cost.

3. It provides education for the large number of people who for a variety of reasons are not able to or do not want to register in a university of the traditional type but who still wish to obtain formal qualifications.

But it goes beyond these and takes the concept of open education further.

No country in the world has attempted to provide the kind of university education which Thailand has seen fit to start. In consideration of size alone, Ramkhamhaeng has gone far beyond the limits of any established university but it has done this without losing sight of academic standards and quality in education. Other education systems may offer as much opportunity in terms of places at university as Ramkhamhaeng does. But Ramkhamhaeng has sidestepped the concurrent problems that usually go with this kind of system, i.e. a wide divergence in the quality of institutions, as in, for example, the US or Philippines.

Thailand has avoided this partly because it has contained the whole expansion in one institution and the Government has maintained control of this institution in the same way that it maintains control of the other Thai universities. At the same time, it has avoided having to invest a large amount of money in the institution, partly because of the nature of the subjects taught, partly because of the nature of the teaching methods and partly because the largest part of the university income comes from the students themselves, in

the form of fees.

Undoubtedly, the 'Ramkhamhaeng solution' to the problem of how to expand higher education has been a good one for Thailand. What it is now important to consider is whether this solution could be successful in other developing countries.

Much of the Thai success has depended on peripheral factors such as the presence of an already established university system from which Ramkhamhaeng has been able to draw experience and manpower; flexibility in the organisation of the university which has allowed Ramkhamhaeng 'its head' without tying it down with too much bureaucracy and red tape (although one must not think the red tape does not exist); a social and political climate which was ready for this move and which, if this move had not been made, may have seen a larger social and political problem arising; the presence of skilful administrators who were prepared to move outside the existing body of experience in university administration; the lack of restrictions as to the theoretical possibility of the whole venture which would undoubtedly have come with outside advisers and outside money.

How transferable the institution is must be judged on all these criteria. It is unlikely that any of the other developing countries would have a similar social and educational background to Thailand. Many developing countries, for example, which were former colonies of one of the Western countries, still have educational and economic ties with these countries which limit the freedom they have to make radical changes. Thailand, though undoubtedly economically dependent on some of the Western countries, particularly the US, has no colonial ties and thus has always run its educational system on its own lines. Clearly too, different cultural backgrounds will produce

different responses to educational change.

With these provisos in mind, I would suggest that other Asian countries might find it useful to consider a Ramkhamhaeng - type solution to their higher education problems. But as the cultural, social and educational backgrounds of countries diverge, the Ramkhamhaeng-type solution might become less easily transferable. However, just as the British Open University system is not transferred wholesale to other countries, it would not be essential to transfer the idea of Ramkhamhaeng wholesale to other countries; but it may be possible to transfer some of the techniques.

There are always difficulties in transferring innovations from their original setting to a new one. Simmons expresses a rather pessimistic view of this:

> "Whether planning in agriculture, education, or in other sectors, most countries seem unable to profit from the experience of others when dealing with similar problems. The relatively rapid spread of the new wheat and rice strains is one of the exceptions; the spread of Coca Cola is another." (18)

Clearly technical processes and products are relatively easy to transfer but the transfer of more abstract ideas and institutional types is more difficult especially when they involve values. Educational philosophy is especially difficult to transfer since it is based on a history of experience and experiment in particular situations. But if countries do not have access to ideas and innovations which have been tried out successfully, they themselves may waste years of experiment on these same ideas.

What it is important to remember is that innovations must be adapted to the local situation and research is needed to decide if that kind of innovation can be useful at all. The experience of Ramkhamhaeng and its successes and lack of success in various tech-

niques can thus be a useful guide to other developing countries who are faced with the similar problem of expanding higher education quickly and economically.

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16. U.Warotamasikkhadit and D.A.Leuschel, Thailand, Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia and Oceania, June, 1978, no.19, p.102-3.

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A Postscript. Sukhothai Thammathirat and Ramkhamhaeng Universities.

In the late 1970's, the Office of University Affairs (OUA) began to look more closely at the set-up of Ramkhamhaeng as an open university and made some approaches to the university on changing their system of operation to that of a university using only media for teaching. The reasoning behind this change of opinion was that Ramkhamhaeng was becoming 'overcrowded' and encouraging students to come into the city.[1]

Ramkhamhaeng responded to this request by saying that if the OUA wanted Ramkhamhaeng to change its system, there would be a waste of the lecture rooms which the university had already established and a waste of the expertise which they had developed for their kind of system. If the OUA wanted Ramkhamhaeng to run the two kinds of system concurrently, Ramkhamhaeng thought that this would not be feasible since they had already a great deal to handle with their present mode of operation. To develop expertise for a new system would require time to do research into the equipment and facilities required and to develop skilled manpower for this task.

The OUA then decided to open a new open university to complement Ramkhamhaeng. This is Sukhothai Thammathirat University, scheduled to open on an experimental basis in 1980.

The set-up at Sukhothai Thammathirat

The objectives of the university are as follows:

1. To promote both academic and vocational education so as to enable the population to increase their knowledge, according to the needs of society.
2. To do research for the development of academic knowledge, which would also be useful for national development.

3. To provide academic education in order to raise the level of the quality of the population.

4. To cultivate Thai culture.[2]

The university's main aim is to provide adult education at both the degree level and for interest only (similar to post-experience courses at the British Open University), hence the main target group is adults who are already working. However, one of the subsidiary functions of Sukhothai will be to take some of the pressure from Ramkhamhaeng, as far as numbers are concerned, so that in two years time, Sukhothai will begin to accept new secondary school graduates. That year also, Ramkhamhaeng will begin to limit its intake to 100,000 and Sukhothai will be expected to take in the remainder of the secondary leavers. It is thus clear that before long the secondary school leavers will 'swamp' the adult learners.

At present, the target groups are as follows:

1. MS 3 leavers who have worked for four years and are at least 20 on June 1 of the year they wish to enrol.

2. MS 6 graduates or equivalent.

3. Other people with certificates and diplomas from approved institutions of higher education. (3)

The working students will furthermore have to be those who have worked for the Government or in the private sector at the level of grade 2 (civil service grades) or equivalent. These people will be eligible to enter first year only. Those who have higher education experience (category 3 above) may be allowed to enter at third year level.[4]

The administration of the university is aware that this is a new venture and wish some time to 'try out' their system of operation. Thus, although in actuality there will be no restrictions on the number of students enrolled when the university comes fully into operation, for the first two years, the university intends to re-

strict numbers to about 16,000 students, all of whom will be working students. After this two-year experimental period, the university will begin to accept new secondary school graduates.[5]

Courses will be offered on an inter-disciplinary basis in packages. Each package will be worth six units and students will be expected to finish 22-24 packages for graduation. Each semester, each student must take at least one and at most three packages. The university estimates that one package should require 18 hours of study all told per week. As with the British Open University, there will be introductory courses to take in first year except for those not studying for a degree. Students will take from four to eight years to graduate.

The university will operate purely through the media, i.e. there will be no lecture rooms as at Ramkhamhaeng but there will be regional centres where students may go to consult staff with problems. The regional tutors will be people already employed in educational institutions in the local areas and each tutor will be responsible for about 50 students.

Study aids will thus take three forms:

1. The basic form will be printed material in the form of books mailed to the students at the beginning of each term. This material will contain assignments to be done by students during the term.

2. Radio and television programmes and tapes. At present, the plan is to do radio broadcasts eight hours per day nationwide, plus some broadcasting on local networks. The television programmes have yet to be finalised. In time, the university hopes to have its own radio station.

3. Tutors in regional centres.[6]

Required practical work will also be carried out where appro-

priate by the students in their local areas and the work done will be supervised by local people. The practical assignments may be part of a person's regular job, for example, teaching assignments for teachers, or done in a student's vacation or at weekends. Practical work will count towards the final grades for the course. Examinations will be the other form of assessment and will be held in regional centres at the end of each term. Students will be assigned a grade of A,B,C,D or F with a numerical value of 4,3,2,1 and 0 respectively. To graduate, a student must have a C (2.0) average. But a student who has completed all the required units satisfactorily will take a final examination before being allowed to graduate (equivalent to the 'comprehensive examination' in the US).[7]

The university will operate a two term system and perhaps a summer term also. Each term will last a minimum of 15 weeks and summer school a minimum of six weeks.[8]

The university's original intention was to offer courses relevant to national development but since it will have to subsume a subsidiary function of taking in the Ramkhamhaeng overflow, other courses, such as Law, have been added to the list to accommodate the expected demand. This is obviously not a course necessary for national development, though public law and order are necessary for all social systems. But it must be remembered that there is already a large enrolment in law courses in Thailand; for example, one third of Ramkhamhaeng students study law.

Initially, they intend to offer education courses as in-service training for teachers who have below degree standard qualifications, and courses in management. When fully operational, the university hopes to offer the following courses:

1. Fine Arts - language and literature, geography and history.
2. Education - primary and secondary teaching, educational administration.
3. Management Studies - public administration, business administration.
4. Law - general and business law.
5. Health Sciences - nursing, public health, public health administration.
6. Agriculture - agribusiness, co-operatives.
7. Home Economics - stressing the quality of life.
8. Behavioural Sciences - psychology, economics, political science, sociology.
9. Communication Arts - journalism, public relations, mass media.
10. Environmental Sciences - stressing the social and physical environment.
11. Quantitative Sciences - mathematics, statistics, computer science.

However, future courses to be offered will depend on Ramkhamhaeng also and the demand from students.

Sukhothai and Ramkhamhaeng - the differences

From the above description of Sukhothai, it is clear that the major differences between Sukhothai and Ramkhamhaeng are in:

(a) the system operated, i.e. distance teaching as opposed to a mixture of on-campus and distance teaching

(b) amount of staff-student contact

But there is a third difference which has not yet been mentioned:

(c) costs.

(a) The system. The Sukhothai system is geared towards distance teaching only. This is in part because the OUA felt that Ramkhamhaeng was not providing a real service for distance learners and it is clear from the previous chapters that distance learners feel,

and rightly so, that they are at a disadvantage in the Ramkhamhaeng system.

The original intention of Ramkhamhaeng was to offer a chance to students to study at a distance, since it was expected that a large proportion of the students would be working and studying also. As has been demonstrated in previous chapters, the direction of Ramkhamhaeng has changed somewhat since then and Ramkhamhaeng now caters mainly for new secondary school leavers, most of whom are not working and studying and most of whom prefer to attend Ramkhamhaeng for lectures.

Furthermore, the size of the Ramkhamhaeng population and the related difficulty the university has had in producing suitable textbooks and media programmes for distance learners has also been partly responsible for the concentration on the lecture method of teaching. This has unfortunately made it even more difficult for distance learners and one of my own conclusions was that the university was not providing a good service for this kind of student.

However, some of the distance learners have graduated and been extremely successful afterwards. For example, the person who was top in the Bar Examination in 1978 was a graduate of Ramkhamhaeng who had studied entirely at a distance.

The setting-up of Sukhothai should alleviate some of the difficulties distance learners have had in studying at Ramkhamhaeng, where the system is not particularly geared to them, for example:

(a) All students will have equal access to the teaching materials unlike Ramkhamhaeng students where distance learners do not have the chance of attending lectures as regular students do and only some courses are allocated media broadcasting time;

(b) students will not be required to present themselves for

examination in Bangkok as Ramkhamhaeng students are required etc.

Not only is Sukhothai directed towards distance learning only, it is also specifically directed towards mature students, already employed. This is because Sukhothai is hoping to offer more training of an 'in-service' kind for people who want to improve their qualifications in their own line of interest.

There are two further off-shoots of the Sukhothai system. Firstly, there should not be a large graduate unemployment problem since a large number of the students should be already employed. The unemployment situation for Ramkhamhaeng is not particularly bad either but with the increasing number of people graduating each year, it is conceivable that the situation will worsen considerably in the future.

However, it should also be remembered that in two years, Sukhothai will begin to accept new secondary school leavers also and if the Ramkhamhaeng experience is relevant here, those people will probably not be working and studying. If Ramkhamhaeng is taking in only 100,000 secondary school graduates per year, it is possible that Sukhothai will have to take in from 60,000 upwards per year thereafter. People I talked to at Sukhothai suggested that in two years time, the enrolment at Sukhothai might be as much as 200,000. No-one is sure yet if the new secondary school graduates will be able to handle the distance learning or not. This group of secondary school leavers will, however, contribute to the graduate unemployment problem when they finish university.

Secondly, the Sukhothai system should not encourage students to flock to the city as Ramkhamhaeng does. This is not only a social consideration but must be thought of also in a political light. Chapter 9 discussed the potential for political action to be expected

at a university such as Ramkhamhaeng. Although there has been no trouble so far, the Government can not be unconcerned about this. The opening of Sukhothai is presumably seen as a safe way to take care of any problems which may occur in the future, particularly since it is tied to the introduction of a restriction on numbers at Ramkhamhaeng.

The idea of keeping the students out of Bangkok serves a further function, related to employment after graduation. It has been stated already that civil service jobs for new graduates are now mostly positions in the provinces, particularly in the fields of education and political science. Since students will not have had the experience of living in Bangkok, it might prove easier to persuade them to take up provincial jobs on graduation. It is a notoriously difficult problem worldwide to get people to move out of the capital city once they have lived there.

(b) Staff-student contact. Sukhothai intends to have much more staff-student contact than exists at Ramkhamhaeng, since they will set up regional centres with regional tutors. This may alleviate some of the concerns I expressed earlier as to the lack of contact at Ramkhamhaeng and the problems this raised, particularly for distance learners. It may also prove to be essential for the large number of 18-year olds Sukhothai will be enrolling. Furthermore, students will be able to do assignments during the courses which, although they may not always count for final assessment purposes, will be a useful guide for students.

(c) Costs. The cost of studying in fees for students will be higher than at Ramkhamhaeng but will include the price of correspondence materials, i.e. books and tapes. But at the time of writing,

it had not been decided what the cost to each student would be. Where the university is hoping to save money is on buildings and salaries of staff. Sukhothai is hoping to operate with a staff of approximately 435 people (staff and administrators) whose salaries will account for 10% of the university budget. This figure must surely, however, be looked at with reserve, since clearly, the number of staff employed in the regional centres will depend on the number of students enrolled. As yet, there is no way of knowing how many students will be enrolling at Sukhothai in the years ahead. Thirty-nine per cent of the budget is set aside for buildings and equipment and 50% for course materials.[9] Table P.1 indicates the projected Government Budget allocation to Ramkhamhaeng and Sukhothai in the coming years. The universities have other sources of income also, such as student fees which will form a large percentage of their total income (See Table 4.2).

It is clear from the table that at least the Government is expecting that Sukhothai will be an even cheaper venture than Ramkhamhaeng. Again, one will have to wait to see how realistic those projections turn out to be in practice.

Ramkhamhaeng in the future

The main change at Ramkhamhaeng in the future, with the opening of Sukhothai, is the plan to limit the intake starting in 1982. This issue of the 'closing' of Ramkhamhaeng is the main issue being discussed at the university at the present time. The discussion divides into two points: firstly, whether the limiting of numbers should take place at all and secondly, if it does, on what criteria the selection should take place, assuming more than 100,000 students apply each year.

Table P.1. Projected Government Budget allocations to Ramkhamhaeng and Sukhothai, Academic Years 1980-87. (m. of baht).

	Ramkhamhaeng	Sukhothai
1980-81	89.39	17.73
1981-82	107.26	21.27
1982-83	128.71	25.52
1983-84	154.45	30.62
1984-85	185.34	36.74
1985-86	222.40	43.08
1986-87	266.88	51.69

Source: National Economic and Social Development Board, Education Section, Starting budget for the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan, (Bangkok, 1980), (in Thai), p.55.

The first point is rather a difficult one. In some ways, the university opinion is that this is a necessary step if the number of students is not to reach unmanageable proportions. At present, the university can handle its 300,000 students. But statistical projections based on past enrolment and dropout patterns have suggested that the total enrolment in 1980-1 will be approximately 440,000 and in 1981-2, 575,000.[10] If numbers continued to increase in this way, it is clear that the university would not be able to cope, especially if it continued to use its present mode of working, i.e. that of offering lectures in all subjects.

At the same time, 'openness' has been one of the guiding philosophies of the university since it first started. Many people feel that the limiting of numbers will change the whole character of the university and will almost certainly alter its whole relationship with the population at large. The general feeling is that Ramkhamhaeng is a university of the people. In limiting its intake, it

becomes just another closed university and hands the reins over to Sukhothai to do its old job.

The university did a survey of the academic staff by questionnaire, as to their opinions on the future of Ramkhamhaeng, in 1979. Seventy-two per cent of the staff returned the questionnaire and of those who returned them, 52.6% said that Ramkhamhaeng should limit its intake and 43% said it should not. Table P.2 indicates what those who were against limiting intake thought should be the university system in the future.

Table P.2. Opinions of those against limiting intake as to the future policy

Opinion	Percentage in agreement
Should continue to operate as at present, building another campus if necessary	55.95
Should not offer lectures at all but should use mass media, including self-learning textbooks, radio, television, video-tape and an improved system of roving lecturers.	11.51
Should have no lectures for first and second years but use only media teaching and hold lectures for third and fourth year students	20.24
Other	12.30

Source: Summary of the results of the investigation into the direction of Ramkhamhaeng in the future, (in Thai), (courtesy of the university), p.5.

It seems to me that the table shows a lack of understanding by the staff as to the pressure on the facilities that would arise from continuing to open access while using the same system as at present. Over half of those not in favour of limiting intake wanted to continue as at present despite the fact that, when I interviewed

the staff, the most commonly mentioned problems were: lack of lecture rooms, too many students, lack of services, etc., all of which will be exacerbated if the present system operates with a larger number of students.

Table P.3 indicates, for those in favour of limiting intake, how many students they thought should be taken in.

Table P.3. Opinions of staff in favour of limiting intake as to the number of new students to enrol per year.

Range	Percentage in favour
Up to 20,000	15.26
20,000 - 50,000	53.57
50,000 - 100,000	22.73
More than 100,000	5.84

Source: Summary of the results of the investigation into the direction of Ramkhamhaeng in the future, (in Thai), (courtesy of the university), p.7.

These opinions of the staff are 'off the top of the head' figures, as it were. An economic feasibility study in the university has suggested that a yearly intake of 100,000 students is the optimum number for the facilities and the staff which Ramkhamhaeng already has.[11]

The question as to how the intake should be limited is more interesting. Table P.4 indicates the staff opinions on this matter. The university is constrained by Act of Parliament not to select students by entrance examination, so that another selection method has to be found. The using of secondary school graduation grades is fraught with difficulties. Until 1977, there was a national secondary school leaving examination but, since then, each individual

school graduates its own students after satisfactory completion of a certain number of courses on a unit-system basis. This means that a just comparison between schools is impossible. Furthermore, the university is open to other kinds of people apart from those just finishing secondary school and this too must be taken into consideration.

Table P.4. Opinions of staff in favour of limiting intake on method of limiting intake.

Method	Percentage in favour
Secondary school graduation grades	63.64
Drawing lots	2.92
Mixture of grades and lots	11.36
Other	19.81

Source: Summary of the results of the investigation into the direction of Ramkhamhaeng in the future, (in Thai), (courtesy of the university), p.7.

It may be, however, that, with the opening of Sukhothai, this second category, i.e. those working and studying, may be reduced in number or may disappear entirely since Sukhothai will be catering for them more directly. In that case, it might be possible to devise some system based on secondary school results. The staff are certainly in favour of this method since they already feel that one of the difficulties in teaching at Ramkhamhaeng is that the ability of the students varies tremendously. Use of an academic selection criterion would standardise the level of ability somewhat.

I feel however, that this would not be an equitable solution. What would result is that people who have had the chance of a good secondary education, i.e. those who live or go to school in Bangkok,

would have a much greater chance of entering Ramkhamhaeng. This kind of policy would certainly alter the philosophy of Ramkhamhaeng and the character of its student population would more closely resemble that of the other closed Bangkok universities. People from the provincial areas would again be at a disadvantage, as they are for entering universities such as Chulalongkorn. Taking this into account, some kind of lottery system would be a better solution.

The compromise solution of combining both methods is gaining support. This would work by stating that all those who had a certain grade in secondary school would get an automatic entrance. The others would go into the lottery.

The university has not really begun planning for this change-over yet, partly because of its present involvement with the new campus and partly because, I feel, they are not convinced that it is going to happen. Decisions have a habit of being reversed at Ministerial level very quickly and it is quite possible that the planned 'closure' of Ramkhamhaeng will not go ahead. Much of the decision probably rests on the success of Sukhothai in its initial two years.

The other change in the university system which is in the pipe-line, if not yet on the drawing board, is the introduction of higher degree programmes. This would initially be at the M.A. level and only in some faculties where it is felt that there is expertise amongst the staff to teach such courses. At the moment, it is considered that within four years, the Humanities and Education Faculties will be ready to start up these programmes and perhaps Economics soon after. The other faculties are not yet considered ready for this kind of move.

As yet, there is only speculation as to how the postgraduate

degree system would operate. The general impression gained is that the university would want to maintain the same openness that it has at the undergraduate level and the same methods of teaching. Presumably, more staff-student contact would be worked in, especially if the number of enrolees was small enough to allow this. But one hesitates to make any statement as yet, since it is not clear whether the number of enrolees will be in the 100's, the 1,000's or even the 10,000's.

Conclusions

In summary, then, the intention of the Government is to use Sukhothai and Ramkhamhaeng to complement each other, Ramkhamhaeng being the university expected to be popular with the new secondary school leavers and Sukhothai for those already working. The opinion of the staff at Ramkhamhaeng in general was that, given the choice, new secondary school leavers would choose Ramkhamhaeng because it offers direct lectures which they can attend. This kind of system is more like the kind of system which they are used to thinking about as far as university education goes. But if Ramkhamhaeng 'closes', then many of these aspiring students will have to go to Sukhothai. Learning by Sukhothai's methods will require a change of thinking by many students as to what university education is.

If the experiment is successful, i.e. that the two universities work co-operatively and not competitively, this could be yet another major development in university provision. Whether this cooperation will come about is difficult to foresee. At present, one feels that there is a certain amount of jealousy at Ramkhamhaeng as to the amount of attention Sukhothai is getting from the Government and a certain amount of uncertainty at Sukhothai as to whether they will

be able to make such a success of things as Ramkhamhaeng has. It is to be hoped that these difficulties will be ironed out as the two universities develop and the next ten years will see another success for Thailand in the field of higher education.

Notes and references

1. All information in this paragraph and the following two is taken from Office of University Affairs, The Open University: summary report of the subcommittee to consider and establish a plan for the Open University, (Bangkok, 1978), (in Thai), p.2-3.

2. ibid., p.4.

3. Sukhothai Thammathirat - Thailand's Open University. Document prepared for the Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the Future, Ramkhamhaeng University, August, 1979, (in Thai), p.3.

4. OUA, op.cit., p.5.

5. When information given is not referred to any document, it means that the information was gathered in discussion with administrative staff at Sukhothai.

6. OUA, op.cit., p.6.

7. loc.cit.

8. Sukhothai Thammathirat, op.cit., p.3.

9. OUA, op.cit., p.14-15.

10. B.Udomrati, The number of students: important factors in university planning, (unpublished), (in Thai), 1979?, p.7.

11. T.Soparatana, Ramkhamhaeng University: an economic feasibility study. Document prepared for the Seminar on Ramkhamhaeng in the future, Ramkhamhaeng University, August, 1979.

Appendix 1

App dix 1 contains a sample of each questionnaire distributed to stu nts, graduates and dropouts, together with a sample of the acc panying letter which went with each questionnaire. Each documen is preceded by a translation in English.

Below is a translation of the letter sent to all Ramkhamhaeng stu nts. A similar letter, with appropriate rewording was sent wit the questionnaires for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai students.

Re: Request for co-operation in answering accompanying questionnaire.
To: amkhamhaeng students.
Acc panying material: One questionnaire.

I am at present engaged in research into the expansion of higher edu tion in Thailand, which I hope will be of use in the developmen of higher education in the future. For this purpose, I would lik to request your help in filling out the accompanying questionnai . The questions concern your personal and educational background as ll as your past and present university experience. I have tried to ke the questions as easy to answer as possible but if you want to ite additional comments, please feel free to do so. Please ans r all the questions even if you think some of them are not relevan to the research work.

All answers will be confidential. When you have completed the que ionnaire, please fold and staple and return it to the address on e back. The postage is already paid for.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Edith Danskin,
Ph.D. student, London University.

เรื่อง ขอความร่วมมือในการตอบแบบสอบถาม

เรียน นักศึกษามหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

สิ่งที่แนบมาด้วย แบบสอบถาม ๑ ชุด

เนื่องจากข้าพเจ้าจะทำการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับรายการขยายงานระดับอุดมศึกษาในประเทศไทย ซึ่งคาดว่าจะเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการพัฒนาอุดมศึกษาในอนาคต จึงใคร่ขอความกรุณาท่านกรอกแบบสอบถามที่แนบมานี้ เป็นคำถามเกี่ยวกับตัวท่าน และพื้นฐานการศึกษาของท่าน และการศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัยของท่านด้วย ข้าพเจ้าพยายามสร้างแบบสอบถามให้เป็นคำถามง่าย ๆ สะดวกแก่การตอบ ข้อใดที่ต้องเขียนรายละเอียด ก็ใคร่ขอความกรุณาเขียนสิ่งที่ท่านมีความรู้สึกนึกคิดให้แจ่มชัดและกระจ่างด้วย จะเป็นพระคุณยิ่ง และกรุณาตอบคำถามทุกข้อแม้ท่านจะคิดว่าบางสิ่งอาจจะไม่เป็นประโยชน์ต่อการวิจัยนักก็ตาม

ข้าพเจ้าจะถือว่าคำตอบทุกฉบับเป็นความลับ และเมื่อท่านตอบคำถามเสร็จแล้ว โปรดพับและเย็บกระดาษส่งคืนทางไปรษณีย์โดยมิต้องติดแสตมป์แต่อย่างใด

สุดท้ายนี้ข้าพเจ้าขอถือโอกาสขอบพระคุณท่านอย่างยิ่ง ที่ได้กรุณาให้ความร่วมมือต่อการวิจัยของข้าพเจ้าด้วยความจริงใจ

ขอแสดงความนับถืออย่างสูง

อีดิธ แดนสกิน

(นางสาวอีดิธ แดนสกิน)

นักศึกษาปริญญาเอกแห่ง

มหาวิทยาลัยลอนดอน

Questionnaire for those presently studying

I Personal background

1. Sex Male Female

2. Date of birth Day ..... Month ..... Year .....

3. Single Married No. of children

4. Home province .....

5. Place of residence while studying

Bangkok Chieng Mai Other (Please specify)

II Family background

6. Father's monthly salary

0 - 500 baht

500 - 999

1000 - 1999

2000 - 2999

3000 - 3999

4000 - 4999

5000 +

7. Number of children in family .....

8. Your position in family order ..... child

9. Parents' education

Father Mother

Below primary 4

Primary 4

Primary 4-7

Secondary 1-3

Secondary 4-5

Post secondary 5 but not univ.

University

10. Number of brothers and sisters who have been to or are at university .....

11. University which your brothers and sisters attended or are attending

Chulalongkorn	.....	Ramkhamhaeng	.....
Kasetsart	.....	Silpakorn	.....
Khon Kaen	.....	Sri Nakharinwirot	.....
Chieng Mai	.....	Songkla	.....
Thammasat	.....	KMIT	.....
Mahidol	.....	Abroad	.....

III Educational background

12. Please list all secondary schools attended (please indicate S for state school, P for private school and V for vocational school).

	Name of school	Address	Level completed	Year	Kind
1.	.....				
2.	.....				
3.	.....				
4.	.....				

13. List of subjects and grades of subjects studied at secondary school.

Subject			Grade
Thai			
Foreign Languages (e.g.	English	French	
	Chinese	Pali	
	Other (please specify .....)		
Mathematics			
Science			
Social Science			
Other (e.g. vocational) please specify			
	.....		
	.....		

14. University which you are at present attending or have ever attended.

	Name	Years	Qualification obtained
1.	.....		
2.			

15. Please list all universities applied for when you took JHEEE. (If you did not take JHEEE, omit this question).

1. .....

2. .....

3. ....

4. .....

5. .....

6. .....

16. Course of study you are now following

Year ..... Faculty ..... Subject .....

17. Are you working and studying? Yes No

If yes, how many hours do you work per week? .....

18. Number of hours you attend university for:

Lectures

Practical work

19. Which of the following do you use as your main source of in-information while studying?

(a) Mainly textbooks

(b) Mainly notes produced by the lecturers at your university

(c) Books and notes as described in (a) and (b) above

(d) Notes produced at another university

(e) Other, e.g. newspapers, documents from the National Library, research material from other sources, etc.

20. From which of the following sources is your university education funded?

(a) Government scholarship

(b) Private scholarship

(c) Foreign scholarship

(d) Parents or other relatives

(e) Own savings

(f) Working and studying

(g) Other (Please specify .....)

21. Below is a list of problems which may affect your studying. Please indicate for each one how much effect they have by:

1 great 2 medium 3 little 4 none at all

Understanding the course material

Getting assignments in on time

Getting down to work (self control)

Getting in contact with staff

Getting in contact with other students

Finding a suitable place to study at the university

Finding a suitable place to study at home

Domestic problems and responsibilities

Finding books for your course

Extracurricular distractions

Other problems (Please specify .....)

IV Employment

22. When you graduate, what kind of work do you expect to get?

Civil servant

Trainee civil servant

Private company

State enterprise

International organisation

Study further

23. When you graduate, where do you expect to work?

Bangkok

Central region

North

Northeast

South

Abroad

24. Why did you choose to study at Ramkhamhaeng?

25. How many hours per week do you:

(a) Listen to Ramkhamhaeng programmes on the radio .....

(b) Watch Ramkhamhaeng programmes on television .....

26. Do you use distance learning methods of studying only?

If so,

(a) Why did you choose this method of study?

(b) How many times per term do you go to Ramkhamhaeng? .....

(c) Why do you go to Ramkhamhaeng?

(d) How many days does it take material sent from the university to reach you? .....

(e) How many times a year do you attend lectures given as part of the roving lecturer service? .....

(f) How do you send assignments to your lecturers .....

How many times do you send in assignments? .....

27. Please write down two advantages you think there are in studying at Ramkhamhaeng

(a) .....

(b) .....

28. Please list two disadvantages you think there are in studying at Ramkhamhaeng

(a) .....

(b) .....

29. Can you suggest improvements that could be made to improve the system at Ramkhamhaeng?

(a) .....

(b) .....

(c) .....

(d) .....

(e) .....

(f) .....

Note: Questions 24 onwards were asked of Ramkhamhaeng students only.

แบบสอบถาม

I ประวัติส่วนตัว

1. เพศ ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
2. เกิดวันที่ ..... เดือน ..... ปี .....
3. โสด ☐ แต่งงาน ☐ จำนวนบุตร
4. บ้านเกิด .....
5. ที่อยู่ขณะที่ศึกษาในปัจจุบัน
   ☐ กรุงเทพฯ เชียงใหม่ ☐ จังหวัดอื่น ๆ (จังหวัด .....)

II ประวัติครอบครัว

6. บิดาของท่านมีรายได้ประมาณเดือนละ
   - ☐ 0 - 500 บาท
   - ☐ 500 - 999
   - ☐ 1000 - 1999
   - ☐ 2000 - 2999
   - ☐ 3000 - 3999
   - ☐ 4000 - 4999
   - ☐ 5000 +
7. จำนวนพี่น้องในครอบครัว ..... คน
8. ท่านเป็นบุตรคนที่ ..... ของครอบครัว
9. การศึกษาของบิดา - มารดา

บิดา	มารดา	
☐	☐	ต่ำกว่าประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4-7
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 1-3
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 4-5
☐	☐	ม.ศ. 5 แล้วต่อแขนงอื่นที่ไม่ใช่มหาวิทยาลัย
☐	☐	ระดับ มหาวิทยาลัย

10. จำนวนพี่น้องที่ได้รับปริญญา หรือกำลังเรียนอยู่ในมหาวิทยาลัย ..... คน

11. มหาวิทยาลัยที่พี่น้องของท่านศึกษาจบแล้ว หรือกำลังศึกษาอยู่

จุฬาลงกรณ์	.....	คน	รามคำแหง	.....	คน
เกษตรศาสตร์	.....	คน	ศิลปากร	.....	คน
ขอนแก่น	.....	คน	ศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ	.....	คน
เชียงใหม่	.....	คน	สงขลานครินทร์	.....	คน
ธรรมศาสตร์	.....	คน	สถาบันเทคโนโลยีพระจอมเกล้า	.....	คน
มหิดล	.....	คน	ศึกษาต่างประเทศ	.....	คน

: ประวัติการศึกษา

12. รายชื่อโรงเรียนที่ท่านเคยศึกษาระดับชั้นมัธยมศึกษา (โปรดกรอก [ล] สำหรับโรงเรียนรัฐบาล [ร] โรงเรียนราษฎร์ [อ] อาชีวศึกษา

ชื่อโรงเรียน	จังหวัด	จบปีการศึกษา	ชั้น	ประเภทของโรงเรียน
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

13. รายชื่อและคะแนนของวิชาที่ท่านเคยเรียนในชั้นมัธยมศึกษา

วิชา — คะแนน

- ☐ ภาษาไทย
- ☐ ภาษาต่างประเทศ (เช่น ☐ อังกฤษ ☐ ฝรั่งเศส ☐ จีน ☐ บาลี ☐ อื่น ๆ .....)
- ☐ คณิตศาสตร์
- ☐ วิทยาศาสตร์
- ☐ สังคมศึกษา
- ☐ อื่น ๆ (เช่น อาชีวศึกษา) โปรดระบุ .....
  .....
  .....

14. มหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาอยู่ หรือเคยศึกษามาแล้ว

ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย	ระหว่างปี	ถ้าได้รับประกาศนียบัตรหรือวุฒิใด โปรดระบุด้วย
1.		
2.		

15. โปรดลำดับชื่อมหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านเลือกเมื่อท่านสมัครสอบเข้ามหาวิทยาลัย
(ถ้าท่านไม่เคยสอบคัดเลือกไม่ต้องตอบข้อนี้)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. .....

16. แขนงวิชาที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาในปัจจุบัน

ชั้นปีที่ ..... คณะ ..... สาขาวิชา .....

17. ท่านทำงานขณะที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาอยู่นี้หรือไม่

ถ้าท่านทำงาน ท่านใช้เวลาใน ทำงานนั้นประมาณกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์ .....

18. จำนวนชั่วโมงที่ท่านต้องเรียนตามตารางเรียนในมหาวิทยาลัย แยกออกเป็น

☐ จำนวนชั่วโมงในการฟังคำบรรยายโดยอาจารย์ในห้องเรียน

☐ จำนวนชั่วโมงในภาคปฏิบัติหรือการฝึกงานและการทดลองรวมกัน

19. ท่านใช้อะไรเป็นสิ่งประกอบและเครื่องช่วยในการศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านศึกษา
(กรุณาเลือกข้อที่ใกล้เคียงที่สุดกับที่ท่านใช้)

☐ ก. หนังสือและตำราเรียนเป็นส่วนใหญ่

☐ ข. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์ในมหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาเป็นส่วนใหญ่

☐ ค. หนังสือเรียนและโน๊ตตามข้อ ก. และ ข.

☐ ง. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์จากมหาวิทยาลัยอื่น ๆ

☐ จ. สิ่งอื่น ๆ ที่ท่านสามารถหาได้ เช่น จากหนังสือพิมพ์ เอกสารจากหอสมุดแห่งชาติ และการค้นคว้าจากแหล่งอื่น ๆ

20. ใครช่วยเหลือค่าใช้จ่ายให้แก่ท่านในระหว่างการศึกษาปัจจุบัน

☐ ก. ได้รับทุนจากรัฐบาล

☐ ข. ได้รับทุนจากบริษัทหรือจากสมาคม

☐ ค. ได้รับทุนจากต่างประเทศ

☐ ง. จากบิดา - มารดา หรือญาติ

☐ จ. จากการสะสมโดยท่านเองมาก่อน

☐ ฉ. จากการทำงานในขณะที่ท่านเรียน

☐ ช. อื่น ๆ (กรุณาระบุ) .....

21. ต่อไปนี้เป็นรายการปัญหาซึ่งอาจจะมีผลต่อการศึกษาของท่าน กรุณาชี้ให้เห็นว่าแต่ละปัญหามีผลต่อตัวท่านมากน้อยเพียงใด

[1] มีผลมาก [2] มีผลปานกลาง [3] มีผลน้อย [4] ไม่มีผลเลย

- ☐ ความเข้าใจในเนื้อหาวิชา
- ☐ การทำงานส่งตามเวลา
- ☐ การบังคับจิตใจของท่าน เช่น ต้องบังคับตัวเองให้อ่านหนังสือในขณะที่ไม่มีสมาธิ
- ☐ การเข้าพบและปรึกษากับอาจารย์ตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การพบกับเพื่อนนิสิต นักศึกษาตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือและตำราในมหาวิทยาลัย
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือและตำราที่บ้านหรือที่ห้องพัก
- ☐ ปัญหาและการรับผิดชอบที่บ้าน
- ☐ การค้นคว้าหาหนังสือสำหรับอ่านประกอบการศึกษา
- ☐ ปัญหาที่ท่านต้องทำเพื่อสังคมส่วนตัว (เช่น เมื่อท่านต้องออกไปสนุกกับเพื่อน)
- ☐ ปัญหาอื่น ๆ โปรดระบุ .....

อาชีพ .

22. เมื่อท่านจบการศึกษาแล้ว ท่านคิดว่าจะทำงานประเภทใด

- ☐ ข้าราชการ
- ☐ ลูกจ้างราชการ
- ☐ ทำงานในบริษัทหรือเอกชน
- ☐ รัฐวิสาหกิจ
- ☐ องค์การระหว่างประเทศ
- ☐ ศึกษาต่อ

23. ท่านคิดว่าท่านจะทำงานที่ไหน

- ☐ กรุงเทพฯ
- ☐ ภาคกลาง
- ☐ ภาคเหนือ
- ☐ ภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ
- ☐ ภาคใต้
- ☐ ต่างประเทศ

24. เหตุใดท่านจึงเลือกเรียนที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

25. จำนวนชั่วโมงที่ท่านใช้ในการศึกษา

ก. ฟังการสอนของอาจารย์มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงจากวิทยุ .....ชั่วโมง/สัปดาห์

ข. ดูรายการของมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงจากทีวี .....ชั่วโมง/สัปดาห์

26. ท่านศึกษาโดยทางวิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้นหรือไม่

ถ้าท่านศึกษาโดยทางวิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้น

ก) ทำไมท่านจึงเลือกวิธีนี้

ข) ท่านไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงบ่อยเพียงใดประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อภาคการศึกษา .....

ค) สำหรับข้อ 2. โปรดบอกวัตถุประสงค์ที่ท่านไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงว่าเพื่ออะไร

ง) เมื่อท่านสั่งตำราหรือบทเรียนจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง ท่านจะได้รับวัตถุนั้นประมาณกี่วันจากวันที่ท่านสั่ง ..... วัน

จ) ท่านเคยเข้าฟังการบรรยายของอาจารย์สัญจรประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อปี ..... ครั้ง

ฉ) ท่านส่งรายงานให้อาจารย์โดยวิธีใด .....
ประมาณปีละกี่ครั้ง ..... ครั้ง

27. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านดีของการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. .....

2. .....

28. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านไม่ดีของการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. .....

2. .....

29. โปรดเสนอข้อแนะนำที่ท่านคิดว่าสามารถปรับปรุงระบบการศึกษาที่ มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงให้ดี และมีประสิทธิภาพยิ่งขึ้นเป็นข้อ ๆ ดังนี้

1. .....

2. .....

3. .....

4. .....

Questionnaire for graduates and dropouts (questions 1-25 are the same)

I Personal background

1. Sex Male Female

2. Date of birth Day ..... Month ..... Year .....

3. While you were studying at Ramkhamhaeng were you

Single Married No. of children .....

4. Home province .....

5. Place of residence while studying at Ramkhamhaeng

Bangkok Other province (Please specify .....)

II Family background

6. Father's monthly income while you were at Ramkhamhaeng

0 - 500 baht

500 - 999

1000 - 1999

2000 - 2999

3000 - 3999

4000 - 4999

5000 +

7. Number of brothers and sisters while you were at Ramkhamhaeng ..

8. Your position in family order ..... child

9. Parents' education

Father Mother

Below primary 4

Primary 4

Primary 4-7

Secondary 1-3

Secondary 4-5

Post secondary 5 but not university

University

10. Number of brothers and sisters who had been to university or were attending university while you were at Ramkhamhaeng .....

11. University which your brothers and sisters attended or were attending

Chulalongkorn	.....	Ramkhamhaeng	.....
Kasetsart	.....	Silpakorn	.....
Khon Kaen	.....	Sri Nakharinwirot	.....
Chieng Mai	.....	Songkla	.....
Thammasat	.....	KMIT	.....
Mahidol	.....	Abroad	.....

III Educational background

12. Please list all secondary schools attended (Please indicate S for state school, P for private school and V for vocational school).

	Name of school	Address	Level completed	Year	Kind
1.	.....				
2.	.....				
3.	.....				
4.	.....				

13. List of subjects and grades of subjects studied at secondary school.

Subject			Grade
Thai			
Foreign Languages (e.g.	English	French	
	Chinese	Pali	
	Other (Please specify .....)		
Mathematics			
Science			
Social Science			
Other (e.g. vocational) Please specify			
	.....		
	.....		

14. Besides Ramkhamhaeng, have you ever studied at another university? If so:

	Name	Years	Qualification obtained
1.	.....		
2.	.....		
3.	.....		

15. Please list all universities applied for when you took JHEEE. (If you did not take JHEEE, omit this question).

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. .....

16. Did you work while you were studying at Ramkhamhaeng? .....

If so, how many hours per week did you work? .....

17. While at Ramkhamhaeng, how many hours per week did you attend lectures in:

First year .....

Second year .....

Third year .....

Fourth year .....

18. While you were at Ramkhamhaeng, which of the following did you use as your main source of information?

(a) Mainly textbooks

(b) Mainly notes produced by Ramkhamhaeng lecturers

(c) Books and notes as described in (a) and (b) above

(d) Notes produced at another university

(e) Other, e.g. newspapers, documents from the National Library, research material from other sources, etc.,

19. While you were at Ramkhamhaeng, from which of the following sources was your university education funded?

(a) Government scholarship

(b) Private scholarship

(c) Foreign scholarship

(d) Parents or other relatives

(e) Own savings

(f) Working and studying

(g) Other (Please specify .....)

20. Below is a list of problems which may have affected your studying while you were at Ramkhamhaeng. Please indicate for each one how much effect they had by:

1 great 2 medium 3 little 4 none at all

Understanding the course material

Getting assignments in on time

Getting down to work (self control)

Getting in contact with staff

Getting in contact with other students

Finding a suitable place to study at the university

Finding a suitable place to study at home

Domestic problems and responsibilities

Finding books for your course

Extracurricular distractions

Other problems (Please specify .....)

21. Why did you choose to study at Ramkhamhaeng?

22. While you were at Ramkhamhaeng, did you use distance learning methods of study only? .....

If so,

(a) Why did you choose this method of study?

(b) How many times per term did you go to Ramkhamhaeng? .....

(c) Why did you go to Ramkhamhaeng?

(d) How many days did it take for material sent from the university to reach you? .....

(e) How many times per year did you attend lectures given as part of the roving lecturer service? .....

(f) How did you send assignments to your lecturers?

How many times per year did you send in assignments? .....

23. Please list two advantages you think there are in studying at Ramkhamhaeng.

(a) .....

(b) .....

24. Please list two disadvantages you think there are in studying at Ramkhamhaeng.

(a) .....

(b) .....

25. Can you suggest improvements that could be made to improve the system at Ramkhamhaeng?

(a) .....

(b) .....

(c) .....

(d) .....

(e) .....

(f) .....

Note: Questions in section A overleaf (26-27) were asked of graduates only.
Questions in section B (26-29) were asked of dropouts only.

Section A

26. Degree taken Faculty ..... Subject .....

How many years did you study at Ramkhamhaeng? .....

27. After graduation what did you do?

Employment/further study	Place	Years

Section B

26. Which year did you leave Ramkhamhaeng? .....

At that time, what course were you taking?

Year of study ..... Faculty ..... Subject .....

27. Why did you have to leave Ramkhamhaeng?

28. What have you done since leaving Ramkhamhaeng?

Employment/Further study	Place	Years
1.		
2.		
3.		

29. Do you intend to finish your studies in the future? .....

If so, where do you intend to study? .....

When do you intend to enrol? .....

แบบสอบถาม

I ประวัติส่วนตัว

1. เพศ ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
2. เกิดวันที่ ..... เดือน ..... ปี .....
3. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหงนั้นท่าน โสด ☐ แต่งงาน ☐

   จำนวนบุตร ..... คน
4. บ้านเกิด .....
5. ที่อยู่ตอนที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง

   ☐ กรุงเทพฯ ☐ จังหวัดอื่น ๆ (จังหวัด .....)

II ประวัติครอบครัว

6. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง บิดาของท่านมีรายได้ประมาณเดือนละ

   ☐ 0 - 500 บาท
   ☐ 500 - 999 บาท
   ☐ 1000 - 1999 บาท
   ☐ 2000 - 2999 บาท
   ☐ 3000 - 3999 บาท
   ☐ 4000 - 4999 บาท
   ☐ 5000 +

7. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านมีพี่น้องรวมทั้งหมดกี่คน ..... คน
8. ท่านเป็นบุตรคนที่ ..... ของครอบครัว
9. การศึกษาของบิดา-มารดา

บิดา	มารดา	
☐	☐	ต่ำกว่าประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4-7
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 1-3
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 4-5
☐	☐	ม.ศ. 5 แล้วต่อแขนงอื่นที่ไม่ใช่มหาวิทยาลัย
☐	☐	ระดับ มหาวิทยาลัย

10. จำนวนพี่น้องที่ได้รับปริญญา หรือกำลังเรียนอยู่ในมหาวิทยาลัยในขณะที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง ..... คน

11. มหาวิทยาลัยที่พี่น้องของท่านศึกษาจบแล้ว หรือกำลังศึกษาอยู่ที่ขณะที่ท่านศึกษา

จุฬาลงกรณ์	..... คน	รามคำแหง	..... คน
เกษตรศาสตร์	..... คน	ศิลปากร	..... คน
ขอนแก่น	..... คน	ศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ	..... คน
เชียงใหม่	..... คน	สงขลานครินทร์	..... คน
ธรรมศาสตร์	..... คน	สถาบันเทคโนโลยีประจอมเกล้า	..... คน
มหิดล	..... คน	ศึกษาต่างประเทศ	..... คน

ประวัติการศึกษา

12. รายชื่อโรงเรียนที่ท่านเคยศึกษาระดับชั้นมัธยมศึกษา (โปรดกรอก [ล] สำหรับโรงเรียนรัฐบาล [ร] โรงเรียนราษฎร์ [อ] อาชีวศึกษา

ชื่อโรงเรียน	จังหวัด	จบปีการศึกษา	ชั้น	ประเภทของโรงเรียน
1.	.....			
2.	.....	.....		
3.	.....			
4.	.....			

13. รายชื่อและคะแนนของวิชาที่ท่านเคยเรียนในชั้นมัธยมศึกษา

วิชา	คะแนน
[ ] ภาษาไทย	
[ ] ภาษาต่างประเทศ (เช่น [ ] อังกฤษ [ ] ฝรั่งเศส [ ] จีน [ ] บาลี [ ] อื่น ๆ .....)	
[ ] คณิตศาสตร์	
[ ] วิทยาศาสตร์	
[ ] สังคมศึกษา	
[ ] อื่น ๆ (เช่น อาชีวศึกษา) โปรดระบุ	
.....	
.....	

14. นอกจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงแล้ว ท่านเคยศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัยอื่น ๆ หรือไม่ .... ถ้าท่านเคย :

เมหาวิทยาลัย	ระหว่างปี	ถ้าได้รับประกาศนียบัตรหรือวุฒิใด โปรดระบุด้วย
.....	.....	
.....	.....	
.....	.....	

15. โปรดลำดับชื่อมหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านเลือกเมื่อท่านสมัครสอบเข้ามหาวิทยาลัย (ถ้าท่านไม่เคยสอบคัดเลือกไม่ต้องตอบข้อนี้)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. .....

16. ท่านทำงานขณะที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหงหรือไม่ .....
ถ้าท่านทำงาน ท่านใช้เวลาในการทำงานนั้นประมาณกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์ .....

17. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านเรียนตามตารางเรียนในรามคำแหงกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์

ปีหนึ่ง .....
ปีสอง .....
ปีสาม .....
ปีสี่ .....

18. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านใช้อะไรเป็นสิ่งประกอบและเครื่องช่วยในการศึกษา (กรุณาเลือกข้อที่ใกล้เคียงที่สุดกับที่ท่านใช้)

- ☐ ก. หนังสือและตำราเรียนเป็นส่วนใหญ่
- ☐ ข. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์ในรามคำแหงเป็นส่วนใหญ่
- ☐ ค. หนังสือเรียนและโน๊ตตามข้อ ก. และ ข.
- ☐ ง. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์จากมหาวิทยาลัยอื่น ๆ
- ☐ จ. สิ่งอื่น ๆ ที่ท่านสามารถหาได้ เช่น จากหนังสือพิมพ์ เอกสารจากหอสมุดแห่งชาติ และการค้นคว้าจากแหล่งอื่น ๆ

19. ใครช่วยเหลือค่าใช้จ่ายให้แก่ท่านในระหว่างการศึกษา ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง

- ☐ ก. ได้รับทุนจากรัฐบาล
- ☐ ข. ได้รับทุนจากบริษัทหรือจากสมาคม
- ☐ ค. ได้รับทุนจากต่างประเทศ
- ☐ ง. จากบิดา-มารดา หรือญาติ
- ☐ จ. จากการสะสมโดยท่านเองมาก่อน
- ☐ ฉ. จากการทำงานในขณะที่ท่านศึกษา
- ☐ ช. อื่น ๆ (กรุณาระบุ .....)

20. ต่อไปนี้เป็นรายการปัญหาซึ่งอาจจะมีผลต่อการศึกษาของท่าน กรุณาชี้ให้เห็นว่าแต่ละปัญหามีผลต่อตัวท่านมากน้อยเพียงใด ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง

[1] มีผลมาก [2] มีผลปานกลาง [3] มีผลน้อย [4] ไม่มีผลเลย

- ☐ ความเข้าใจในเนื้อหาวิชา
- ☐ การทำงานส่งตามเวลา
- ☐ การบังคับจิตใจของท่าน เช่น ต้องบังคับตัวเองให้อ่านหนังสือขณะที่ไม่มีสมาธิ
- ☐ การเข้าพบและปรึกษากับอาจารย์ตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การพบกับเพื่อนนิสิต นักศึกษาตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือ และตำราในรามคำแหง
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือและตำราที่บ้านหรือที่ห้องพัก
- ☐ การค้นคว้าหาหนังสือสำหรับอ่านประกอบการศึกษา
- ☐ ปัญหาและการรับผิดชอบที่บ้าน
- ☐ ปัญหาที่ท่านต้องทำเพื่อสังคมส่วนตัว (เช่น เมื่อท่านต้องออกไปสนุกกับเพื่อน)
- ☐ ปัญหาอื่น ๆ โปรดระบุ .....

21. เหตุใดท่านจึงเลือกเรียนที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

22. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านศึกษาโดยทางวิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้นหรือไม่ .....
ถ้าท่านศึกษาโดยทางวิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้น

ก. ทำไมท่านจึงเลือกวิธีนี้

ข. ท่านไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงบ่อยเพียงใดประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อภาคการศึกษา .....

ค. จากข้อ ข. โปรดบอกวัตถุประสงค์ที่ท่านไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงว่าเพื่ออะไร

ง. เมื่อท่านสั่งตำราหรือบทเรียนจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง ท่านได้รับวัตถุนั้น
ประมาณกี่วันจากวันที่ท่านสั่ง ..... วัน

จ. ท่านเคยเข้าฟังการบรรยายของอาจารย์สัญจรประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อปี ..... ครั้ง

ฉ. ท่านส่งรายงานให้อาจารย์โดยวิธีใด .....
ประมาณปีละกี่ครั้ง ..... ครั้ง

23. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านดี ของการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. .....

2. .....

24. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านไม่ดี ของการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. .....

2. .....

25. โปรดเสนอข้อแนะนำที่ท่านคิดว่าสามารถปรับปรุงระบบการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง
ให้ดี และมีประสิทธิภาพยิ่งขึ้นเป็นข้อ ๆ ต่างนี้

1. .....

2. .....

3. .....

4. .....

5. .....

26. ท่านได้รับปริญญาตรีจากรามคำแหง คณะ ..... สาขาวิชา .....
ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหงกี่ปี ..... ปี

27. หลังจากที่ท่านได้รับปริญญาตรีจากรามคำแหงแล้ว ท่านทำอะไร

ประกอบอาชีพอะไร/ศึกษาต่ออะไร	ที่ไหน	ระหว่างปี

แบบสอบถาม

ประวัติส่วนตัว

1. เพศ ☐ ชาย ☐ หญิง
2. เกิดวันที่ ..... เดือน ..... ปี .....
3. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหงนั้นท่าน โสด ☐ แต่งงาน ☐

   จำนวนบุตร ..... คน
4. บ้านเกิด .....
5. ที่อยู่ตอนที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง

   ☐ กรุงเทพฯ ☐ จังหวัดอื่น ๆ (จังหวัด .....)

ประวัติครอบครัว

6. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง บิดาของท่านมีรายได้ประมาณเดือนละ

   ☐ 0 - 500 บาท

   ☐ 500 - 999 บาท

   ☐ 1000 - 1999 บาท

   ☐ 2000 - 2999 บาท

   ☐ 3000 - 3999 บาท

   ☐ 4000 - 4999 บาท

   ☐ 5000 +
7. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านมีพี่น้องรวมทั้งหมดกี่คน ..... คน
8. ท่านเป็นบุตรคนที่ ..... ของครอบครัว
9. การศึกษาของบิดา-มารดา

บิดา	มารดา	
☐	☐	ต่ำกว่าประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4
☐	☐	ได้ประถม 4-7
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 1-3
☐	☐	ได้ ม.ศ. 4-5
☐	☐	ม.ศ. 5 แล้วต่อแขนงอื่นที่ไม่ใช่มหาวิทยาลัย
☐	☐	ระดับ มหาวิทยาลัย

10. จำนวนพี่น้องที่ได้รับปริญญา หรือกำลังเรียนอยู่ในมหาวิทยาลัยในขณะที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง ..... คน

11. มหาวิทยาลัยที่พี่น้องของท่านศึกษาจบแล้ว หรือกำลังศึกษาอยู่ในขณะที่ท่านศึกษา

จุฬาลงกรณ์	..... คน	รามคำแหง	..... คน
เกษตรศาสตร์	..... คน	ศิลปากร	..... คน
ขอนแก่น	..... คน	ศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ	..... คน
เชียงใหม่	..... คน	สงขลานครินทร์	..... คน
ธรรมศาสตร์	..... คน	สถาบันเทคโนโลยีประจอมเกล้า	..... คน
มหิดล	..... คน	ศึกษาต่างประเทศ	..... คน

ประวัติการศึกษา

12. รายชื่อโรงเรียนที่ท่านเคยศึกษาระดับชั้นมัธยมศึกษา (โปรดกรอก [ล] สำหรับโรงเรียนรัฐบาล [ร] โรงเรียนราษฎร์ [อ] อาชีวศึกษา

ชื่อโรงเรียน	จังหวัด	จบปีการศึกษา	ชั้น	ประเภทของโรงเรียน
1.	.....			
2.	.....			
3.	.....			
4.	.....			

13. รายชื่อและคะแนนของวิชาที่ท่านเคยเรียนในชั้นมัธยมศึกษา

วิชา — คะแนน

- [ ] ภาษาไทย
- [ ] ภาษาต่างประเทศ (เช่น [ ] อังกฤษ [ ] ฝรั่งเศส [ ] จีน [ ] บาลี [ ] อื่น ๆ .....)
- [ ] คณิตศาสตร์
- [ ] วิทยาศาสตร์
- [ ] สังคมศึกษา
- [ ] อื่น ๆ (เช่น อาชีวศึกษา) โปรดระบุ .....

.....

.....

14. นอกจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงแล้ว ท่านเคยศึกษาในมหาวิทยาลัยอื่น ๆ หรือไม่ .... ถ้าท่านเคย :

อมหาวิทยาลัย	ระหว่างปี	ถ้าได้รับประกาศนียบัตรหรือวุฒิใด โปรดระบุด้วย
. .....	.....	
. .....	.....	
. .....	.....	

15. โปรดลำดับชื่อมหาวิทยาลัยที่ท่านเลือกเมื่อท่านสมัครสอบเข้ามหาวิทยาลัย (ถ้าท่านไม่เคยสอบคัดเลือกไม่ต้องตอบข้อนี้)

1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. .....

16. ท่านทำงานขณะที่ท่านกำลังศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหงหรือไม่ ..... ถ้าท่านทำงาน ท่านใช้เวลาในการทำงานนั้นประมาณกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์ .....

17. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านเรียนตามตารางเรียนในรามคำแหงกี่ชั่วโมงต่อสัปดาห์

ปีหนึ่ง .....
ปีสอง .....
ปีสาม .....
ปีสี่ .....

18. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านใช้อะไรเป็นสิ่งประกอบและเครื่องช่วยในการศึกษา (กรุณาเลือกข้อที่ใกล้เคียงที่สุดกับที่ท่านใช้)

- ☐ ก. หนังสือและตำราเรียนเป็นส่วนใหญ่
- ☐ ข. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์ในรามคำแหงเป็นส่วนใหญ่
- ☐ ค. หนังสือเรียนและโน๊ตตามข้อ ก. และ ข.
- ☐ ง. โน๊ตที่รวบรวมโดยอาจารย์จากมหาวิทยาลัยอื่น ๆ
- ☐ จ. สิ่งอื่น ๆ ที่ท่านสามารถหาได้ เช่น จากหนังสือพิมพ์ เอกสารจากหอสมุดแห่งชาติ และการค้นคว้าจากแหล่งอื่น ๆ

19. ใครช่วยเหลือค่าใช้จ่ายให้แก่ท่านในระหว่างการศึกษา ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหง

- ☐ ก. ได้รับทุนจากรัฐบาล
- ☐ ข. ได้รับทุนจากบริษัทหรือจากสมาคม
- ☐ ค. ได้รับทุนจากต่างประเทศ
- ☐ ง. จากบิดา-มารดา หรือญาติ
- ☐ จ. จากการสะสมโดยท่านเองมาก่อน
- ☐ ฉ. จากการทำงานในขณะที่ท่านศึกษา
- ☐ ช. อื่น ๆ (กรุณาระบุ .....)

20. ต่อไปนี้เป็นรายการปัญหาซึ่งอาจจะมีผลต่อการศึกษาของท่าน กรุณาชี้ให้เห็นว่าแต่ละปัญหามีผลต่อตัวท่านมากน้อยเพียงใด ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง

[1] มีผลมาก [2] มีผลปานกลาง [3] มีผลน้อย [4] ไม่มีผลเ

- ☐ ความเข้าใจในเนื้อหาวิชา
- ☐ การทำงานส่งตามเวลา
- ☐ การบังคับจิตใจของท่าน เช่น ต้องบังคับตัวเองให้อ่านหนังสือขณะที่ไม่มีสมาธิ
- ☐ การเข้าพบและปรึกษากับอาจารย์ตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การพบกับเพื่อนนิสิต นักศึกษาตามที่ท่านต้องการ
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือ และตำราในรามคำแหง
- ☐ การหาสถานที่ที่เหมาะสมสำหรับการอ่านหนังสือและตำราที่บ้านหรือที่ห้องพัก
- ☐ การค้นคว้าหาหนังสือสำหรับอ่านประกอบการศึกษา
- ☐ ปัญหาและการรับผิดชอบที่บ้าน
- ☐ ปัญหาที่ท่านต้องทำเพื่อสังคมส่วนตัว (เช่น เมื่อท่านต้องออกไปสนุกกับเพื่อน)
- ☐ ปัญหาอื่น ๆ โปรดระบุ .....

21. เหตุใดท่านจึงเลือกเรียนที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

22. ขณะที่ท่านศึกษาอยู่ที่รามคำแหง ท่านศึกษาโดยท วิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้นหรือไม่ .....
ถ้าท่านศึกษาโดยทางวิทยุและโทรทัศน์เท่านั้น

ก. ทำไมท่านจึงเลือกวิธีนี้

ข. ท่านไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงบ่อยเท่ ใดประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อภาคการศึกษา .....

ค. จากข้อ ข. โปรดบอกวัตถุประสงค์ที่ท ไปมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงว่าเพื่ออะไร

ง. เมื่อท่านสั่งตำราหรือบทเรียนจากมหา ยาลัยรามคำแหง ท่านได้รับวัตถุนั้น
ประมาณกี่วันจากวันที่ท่านสั่ง ..... . วัน

จ. ท่านเคยเข้าฟังการบรรยายของอาจา สัญจรประมาณกี่ครั้งต่อปี ..... ครั้ง

ฉ. ท่านส่งรายงานให้อาจารย์โดยวิธีใด .....
ประมาณปีละกี่ครั้ง ..... ครั้ง

23. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านดี ของการศึก ที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. ....

2. ....

24. โปรดให้เหตุผล 2 ข้อทางด้านไม่ดี ของการ ษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

1. ....

2. ....

25. โปรดเสนอข้อแนะนำที่ท่านคิดว่าสามารถปรับปรุ บบการศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง
ให้ดี และมีประสิทธิภาพยิ่งขึ้นเป็นข้อ ๆ ต่างนี้

1. ....

2. ....

3. ....

4. ....

5. ....

26. ท่านออกจากรามคำแหงเมื่อปี พ.ศ. .....

ขณะนั้นท่านกำลังศึกษา

ชั้นปีที่ ..... คณะ ..... สาขาวิชา .....

ท่านศึกษาที่รามคำแหงกี่ปี ..... ปี

27. โปรดให้เหตุผลสำหรับที่ทำให้ท่านต้องออกจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง

28. หลังจากที่ท่านออกจากมหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหงแล้ว ท่านทำอะไร

ประกอบอาชีพอะไร/ศึกษาต่ออะไร	ที่ไหน	ระหว่างปี
1.		
2.		
3.		

29. ท่านมีความตั้งใจที่จะศึกษาต่อให้จบในอนาคตหรือไม่ .....

ถ้าท่านมีความตั้งใจ ท่านจะศึกษาต่อให้จบที่ไหน .....

และท่านจะลงทะเบียนเพื่อศึกษาต่อเมื่อไร .....

Appendix 2. Sampling for the questionnaires

Sampling procedures

In selecting two universities with which to compare Ramkhamhaeng with respect to student background factors, I decided to use one Bangkok university and one of the regional universities, both of which offered courses of a similar nature to Ramkhamhaeng. A survey of all the courses offered at all the universities indicated that Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities were the most appropriate institutions to use.

For Ramkhamhaeng, questionnaires were distributed proportionately by faculty and year according to the previous year's enrolment figures. For Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai, a similar policy was followed but only faculties which offered courses also offered at Ramkhamhaeng were sampled, i.e. for Chulalongkorn, the Faculties of Dentistry, Medicine, Pharmacy, Engineering and Agriculture were not sampled and for Chieng Mai, the Faculties of Agriculture, Dentistry, Associated Medical Sciences, Nursing, Medicine, Pharmacy and Engineering were not included in the research work. If these had been included, it was felt that differences would have arisen due to differences in the type of students who enrol for these courses.

For Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities, I specified the number of people in each year and in each faculty to be sampled but further breakdown by department was not done since the departments in each faculty in the three universities do not correspond. Tables A2.1, A2.2 and A2.3 indicate the subjects offered in each faculty in each university.

For Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai, the questionnaires were then handed to the faculties, each questionnaire having an accompanying

letter of explanation as to the nature and aims of the research work. The faculties were asked to distribute the questionnaires as directed over as many departments as possible and students were requested to hand the questionnaires back to the Faculty Office when complete. I suspect that this procedure was not followed by each faculty since there are large differences in the rates of return for some faculties and I think that in some cases, students filled out the questionnaires and handed them back in class. However, the data has not been analysed by faculties for these two universities, so that differences in methods of collection should be minimised.

Since each department was not specifically sampled for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai Universities, the same process was followed for Ramkhamhaeng. Here the sample was selected according to the enrolment numbers of students. Each student is allocated an enrolment number when he first enrols at the university. These numbers are allocated on a chronological basis irrespective of the course the student is enrolled to take.

In choosing the sample of first year students, who were all sent questionnaires by mail and asked to return them in the same way, I used a systematic sampling method so as to cover all those enrolled throughout the first year enrolment period. Details of the systematic sampling used thus differ from faculty to faculty depending on the total number enrolled and the total number to be sampled.

For years two to four, questionnaires were distributed on registration for first semester. Students are allocated a specific day on which to enrol, according to their enrolment numbers. I thus divided the questionnaires proportionately so as to include the required proportion from each year of enrolment from 1971 to the present time, sampling a specific number of students on each day

of enrolment. Again, the proportions differed from faculty to faculty according to the pattern of enrolments over the last eight years. When the questionnaires for each day had been divided up, I gave the questionnaires to each faculty with instructions that a certain number should be given to students enrolling from a certain time of day onwards, for example, the first 15 students in the Humanities Faculty enrolling from 10 a.m. onwards on July 31, the first 15 enrolling from 10 a.m. on August 1, etc. The questionnaires were to be distributed with a brief word of explanation but this was not important since all the questionnaires carried a covering letter as for Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai.

In selecting the group of graduates from Ramkhamhaeng, I chose to sample those who had graduated in 1978. This was the latest year for which names and addresses of the graduates were available. It was decided to sample only this year because it was felt that, for students who had graduated earlier, the addresses would be unreliabl Questionnaires were distributed in proportion to the number of graduates in each faculty in that year. The names were drawn from a list of graduates supplied by the university, using a systematic sampling method, details again depending on the number of graduates in that year in each faculty and the number required.

In selecting the sample of dropouts, the process was less straightforward. The university does not have reliable information on the number of students who had dropped out over the years since it is difficult to keep track of the large number of students who have enrolled in the short time since the university opened. I thus decided to distribute the questionnaires by looking at the pattern of enrolments over several years, for example, comparing the number of those enrolled in first year science in 1975 with those enrolled

in third year science in 1977. This is not an accurate way to assess dropouts, since students are at liberty to transfer faculty when they wish. It is also true that many people take more than two years to complete the first and second year courses. The flexibility of the university system is another reason why it is difficult to track down students' progress.

However, I felt that it was possible to see 'trends' in the patterns of enrolment, for example, a large number of people are 'lost' from the Science Faculty but a very small number from the Political Science Faculty. Questionnaires were distributed on the basis of these trends.

The sampling method used here is thus not rigorous in that it was not clear how many people had dropped out or from what faculties. Only rather general estimations could be made and the dropouts sampled from each faculty on these. Once the actual numbers had been decided upon, a systematic sampling method was carried out using the files for students the university knew for sure had dropped out. In the event, the sampling method had little importance, since the returns for this group were very low.

A sample size of 1,000 for each group was decided upon to ensure that large enough numbers of people from each social category were sampled. It was known that the children of agricultural workers showed the lowest representation in the closed universities, accounting for about 8% of the total enrolment. To ensure that an adequate number of students from this category answered the questionnaires, a total sample of 1,000 questionnaires was distributed to each group, i.e. 1,000 to students presently studying at the three universities to be sampled, plus 1,000 to each of a sample of graduates and dropouts, in the hope that 600 would be returned.

For Ramkhamhaeng, this was not the case. Only 372 of the ori-

ginal 1,000 questionnaires were returned and although it was known that the composition of the student body was different, i.e. that there would be a larger number of children of agricultural workers at the university, it was felt that 372 was not enough. The returns were analysed by year and faculty and it was estimated that 750 further questionnaires would be required to be sent to certain years and certain faculties to get approximately 600 questionnaires returned in all.

These further questionnaires were sent out using a systematic sampling method again according to the numbers required. However, the response to this second sending-out was not high. The total number of returned questionnaires was 516. It was felt, however, that this number would include a large enough representation of all the socioeconomic groups in the country. That this was the case can be verified from chapter 6, where the questionnaires are analysed in socioeconomic terms.

An analysis of the first and second batches sent out and returned showed that there were no differences between the two groups on the factors to be examined so all data was thereafter combined. There was furthermore no difference between responses on mailed questionnaires as opposed to those handed out in person. It is clear, however, that the mailed questionnaires produced a lower response rate.

Table A2.1. Chulalongkorn University: departments in the eight faculties in the sample.

Faculty of Education
Early childhood education
Lower elementary level
Upper elementary level
Teaching mathematics at the secondary level
Teaching chemistry at the secondary level
Teaching biology at the secondary level
Teaching business education at the secondary level
Teaching physical science at the secondary level
Teaching biological science at the secondary level
Teaching general science at the secondary level
Teaching physics at the secondary level

Teaching Th as a foreign language
Teaching Fre ch as a foreign language
Teaching Ger an as a foreign language
Teaching Eng ish as a foreign language
Teaching soc al studies at the secondary level
Non-formal e ucation
Educational sychology
Music educa on
Physical edu cation
Art educatio
School healt education
Audio-visual education

Faculty of L w

Law

Faculty of C mmunication Arts

Public rela ions
Mass commun cations
Journalism

Faculty of C mmerce and Accountancy

Commerce and accountancy
Statistics
Marketing
Banking and inance
Accounting - accounting
costing
Commerce - anagement
antitative management
ersonnel
avel industry
Statistics - business
assurance
computer data processing
applied statistics

Faculty of P litical Science

Political s ience
Sociology
Government
Internation l relations
Public admi istration
Sociology a d anthropology

Faculty of S cience

Science
Pre-medical technology
Pre-dentist y
Pre-medical science
Pre-pharmac
Pre-veterin ry science
Mathematics

Chemistry
Chemical engineering
Microbiology
Biology
Biochemistry
Fuel technology
Food technology and biochemical technology
Geology
Botany
Genetics
Polymers
Physics
General science
Marine science
Marine science and fishery
Photographic science and printing technology
Materials science and ceramics
Zoology
Physical and chemical oceanography

Faculty of Economics

Monetary economics and public finance
Economic theory
Quantitative economics
Development economics
International economics

Faculty of Arts

Arts
Library science
History
Philosophy
Japanese
Thai
Pali and Sanskrit
Theatre arts
French
Spanish
German
English
Geography

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, academic year 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.9-17.

Table A2.2. Chieng Mai University: departments in the four faculties in the sample

Faculty of Humanities

Mass communications
Psychology
Library science
History
Thai
French
German
English
Human relationships

Faculty of Science

Mathematics
Chemistry
Biology
Geology
Physics
Statistics

Faculty of Social Sciences

Accounting	Business administration
Geography	Political science
Economics	Sociology and anthropology

Faculty of Education

Teaching mathematics	
Teaching Thai	Teaching business administration
Teaching English	Teaching French
Teaching social science	Teaching science

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, academic year 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.33-35.

Table A2.3. Ramkhamhaeng University: departments in the seven faculties

Faculty of Law

Law

Faculty of Business Administration

General management	Accounting
Money and banking	Advertising and public relations
Marketing	Service industry

Faculty of Humanities

Library science	
Thai	English
French	History

Faculty of Education

Psychology
Geography
Education

Faculty of Science

Mathematics	
Chemistry	Physics
Biology	Statistics

Faculty of Political Science

Political science

Faculty of Economics

Economics

Source: Office of University Affairs, Educational report, institutions of higher education, academic year 1977, (Bangkok, 1978), p.7.

Justification of the representativeness of the sample.

In any questionnaire survey, one of the basic problems is to ensure that those returning the questionnaires are truly representative of the total population. In the case of my questionnaires, university data with which to compare my results is almost non-existent. Only for those presently studying and for the graduate group was it possible to make any analysis at all. The university has no data on the background of its dropouts, only broad estimations of the numbers involved. (See Table 8.19).

(a) Presently studying. For those presently studying information is available from students only when they enrol initially in the university. Thereafter, no data is collected apart from numbers of students. Furthermore, the data that is available on the students relates only to their home province. No other socioeconomic information is gathered. Table A2.4 below indicates the distribution of students from different regions who enrolled in first year in 1977 and 1978.

Table A2.4. Distribution of Ramkhamhaeng students in first year by home region, 1977, 1978.

Region	1977		1978	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	28,077	50	39,417	46
Central region	13,011	23	20,328	24
North	4,040	7	7,225	8
Northeast	5,006	9	9,626	11
South	5,835	10	8,660	10
Total	55,969		85,256	

Source: Number of students at Ramkhamhaeng by home region, 1977, 1978, (in Thai), (by courtesy of the university).

Table A2.5 indicates the distribution of my sampled students by year.

Table A2.5. Distribution of my sampled students by home region and present year of study

Region	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		No year	Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%
Bangkok	49	33	44	45	56	52	49	40	6	204	41
Central	52	35	22	22	30	28	40	32	7	151	30
North	12	8	12	12	6	6	12	10	8	50	10
Northeast	17	11	7	7	4	4	10	8	-	38	8
South	19	13	13	13	11	10	13	10	1	57	11
Unknown	-		-		16		-		-	16	
Total	149		98		123		124		22	516	

Note: Those who did not specify home region are not included in the percentage calculations.

It is difficult to compare these figures. Clearly, the two official sets of figures could be compared with my own figures but the two sets of university figures are significantly different, 1977 showing a larger representation of Bangkok students than in 1978 and a smaller representation of students from the regions (except the north) than in 1978. Figures for more years would be necessary in order to know if these are trends or just spurious differences.

If my own first year sample is compared with the 1978 figures, there are differences but they are just on the borderline of significance. The major differences are the smaller representation of Bangkok students in my sample and the larger representation of students from the central region. It is not possible to draw any major

conclusions from this without having the 1979 figures from the university and these are not available. If the sample is unrepresentative, then it would mean that there were fewer Bangkok students in my sample than in the total student population at Ramkhamhaeng. This might result in a skewing of the results so that perhaps fewer higher income families and fewer people with well-educated parents would appear.

This would be a major problem were it not for the fact that the data is being used for comparative purposes and is not meant to stand on its own. This means that results only have meaning when compared with Chulalongkorn and Chieng Mai. If the Bangkok students from Ramkhamhaeng responded in lower numbers than the provincial students, one might expect the same phenomenon to occur for the other universities sampled. This should result in a skewing of their results also. But it should not affect the comparison of the data to the same extent, which is the important consideration. Clearly, however, a follow-up study would be useful here.

There is little data available on the composition of the Chula and Chieng Mai student populations by home region. The only available figures are for Chieng Mai University in 1975. Table A2.6 below lists the percentage enrolment there by catchment area, together with my own figures as revealed in the questionnaires.

Again the figures are not very useful, partly because they are 1975 figures and partly because the Bangkok figures have not been separated from the figures for the central region as a whole. This makes the drawing of comparisons between the two sets of figures rather difficult.

(b) The graduates. In 1979, the university did a survey of graduates who had finished between 1975 and 1978 inclusive.[1] All data

quoted below from the university comes from the published report. Of the 78,865 people who enrolled between 1971 and 1974 and who could have graduated between 1975 and 1978, only 16,447 managed to do so, about 20%. The university sampled 280 of these graduates, sampling 10 from each of the faculties for each of the four years. Information was gathered directly from student records. This is the only data the university has with which my own results can be compared.

Table A2.6. Enrolment in Chiang Mai University by catchment area by percentage: official figures (1975) v. my own findings from the questionnaires.

Catchment area	Official figures	My findings
Bangkok	n.a.	17
Central region	42.2[a]	21
North	39.8	47
Northeast	8.4	8
South	9.5	7

Note: a including Bangkok.

Source: UNESCO, Thailand, Education: towards equalisation and reform, (Paris, 1976), Annex II, p.62.

As far as sex was concerned, the university found that male graduates concentrated in the Faculties of Law, Political Science and Economics and females in Business Administration, Education and Humanities, with an even split in Science. My questionnaire findings correspond with these, although the figures in the Economics and Business Faculties are not significant. Tables A2.7, A2.8, A2.9 and A2.10 below list the university findings together with my own on the remaining factors which our surveys had in common.

Table A2.7. Age on entering Ramkhamhaeng for graduates: university sample v. my sample

	Univ. sample		My sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 21	192	80	185	66
21 - 23	29	12	44	16
Over 23	19	8	51	18

Table A2.8. Home region of graduates: university sample v. my sample

	Univ. sample		My sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	94	39	100	32
Central region	87	36	111	36
North	20	8	29	9
Northeast	6	2	26	8
South	32	14	43	14

Table A2.9. Graduates who worked and studied: university sample v. my sample

	Univ. sample		My sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Worked and studied	15	6	97	31
Did not work	225	94	215	69

Table A2.10 No. of years to graduate: university sample v. my sample

	Univ. sample		My sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
4 and below	151	63	187	62
above 4	89	37	115	38

Although the university data spans four years and my own covers one particular year, 1973, the data show similarity in pattern. The one exception is Table A2.9 which deals with working students. Here, my sample has a significantly larger number of graduates who worked and studied than does the university sample. This could be explained in three ways:

1. Differential working patterns for students in later years of enrolment at Ramkhamhaeng

2. The presence of a larger number of Law graduates in my sample

3. Biasing in my sample.

The second explanation seems most plausible to me. One third of my graduate sample is composed of Law graduates, who make up only 14% of the university sample. Chapter 8 of this thesis shows that the Law graduates show much higher working rates than graduates in the other faculties and this would account, at least partly, for the difference between the university sample and my own.

However, since there is a large disparity between my findings and the university findings on this, I thought it necessary to investigate how this difference affected my analysis. From chapter 8, it is seen that my graduate sample differs from my sample of students presently studying on two factors. The first of these is that of the percentage of students working and studying, the graduate percentage being substantially lower. If I have an overrepresentation of working graduates in my sample, this merely serves to lessen the differences which are already significant; fewer working graduates would merely make the difference even more significant.

The second difference occurred with respect to those who took the JHEEE; the graduates showed a larger proportion of examination

takers than those presently studying. When the graduate population is further broken down by those working and those not working and studying, it is found that those working had a lower proportion of examination takers than those not working. (See Table A2.11).

Table A2.11. Graduates who took JHEEE: those working and not working.

	Those working		Those not working	
	No.	%	No.	%
Took JHEEE	42	44	184	88
Did not	54	56	25	12

Thus again, if I have an overrepresentation of working graduates in my sample, the differences between those presently studying and the graduates are reduced and again, fewer working graduates in the sample would make the results even more significant than they are.

I therefore conclude that if my sample is biased, it merely serves to reduce significance on the two significant factors and thus errs on the side of caution. The same kind of reasoning can be used when talking of differences between graduates and dropouts.

However, it might be suspected that the presence of a large number of working graduates would contribute to a lack of significance on the other socioeconomic factors; chapter 8 reports that apart from the two factors mentioned above, no significant differences appear between my graduate sample and those presently studying. To investigate this, I therefore removed all the working graduates from the statistical calculations and compared those presently studying with the non-working graduates on all the factors discussed in chapter 8. Only one further factor then produced a significant difference between the two groups, that of age on entering university and the result was just on the border of significance; Table A2.12 shows that

a significantly smaller percentage of older people appear in the graduate data.

Table A2.12. Age on entering Ramkhamhaeng: non-working graduates v. those presently studying.

	Non-working graduates		Presently studying	
	No.	%	No.	%
under 21	167	84	334	69
21 - 23	27	14	78	16
over 23	5	3	69	14

Clearly, however, working graduates would expand the number of older people and since the university figures do have some working graduates in their figures, then one is justified in including even a small number of working graduates in one's calculations. Even with a smaller number of working graduates than in my sample (though not zero), no significant differences would appear between the two groups on this factor. I therefore conclude that even if my graduate sample contains a larger representation of working people than is justified (and it may not), they have not contributed to a distortion of the data.

Reference

1. See Research and Statistics Section, Social and economic factors which have an influence on the educational success of Ramkhamhaeng students, (in Thai), (Bangkok: Ramkhamhaeng University Press, 1979).

Appendix 3. Outline of standardised interview for staff

1. Faculty and number of years teaching experience.

2. What do you consider are your duties as a staff member at Ramkhamhaeng?

3. How is teaching at Ramkhamhaeng different from teaching at one of the closed universities.

4. How many hours per week do you: lecture
   spend on research
   What other activities occupy major parts of your time in the university?

5. What is your method of operation when students have questions in lectures?
   Approximately how many students would have questions each lecture period?

6. What arrangements do you have for personal consultation with students outside lecture time?
   How often do students make use of this facility?

7. How many distance learners contact you for help?
   How do you deal with this?
   What kind of things do they want help with?

8. Do you assign students written work?

9. How do you select textbooks for your courses?
   Do you write your own?

10. How much reading are students expected to do for your courses?

11. Do you lecture using a textbook as an outline or what method do you follow for your lecturing?

12. From which sources do you draw your examination material?

13. What kind of examinations do you set?
    How do distance learners fare with this technique?

14. How long does examination marking take you?

15. Are you required to give media lectures as part of your course?
    How do you select material for the media lectures?
    What is your opinion of the usefulness of the media at Ramkhamhaeng?

16. From which university did you graduate?

17. Why did you choose to work at Ramkhamhaeng?

18. Have you ever worked in another university?
    How is it different from working at Ramkhamhaeng?

19. How do you think standards of education at Ramkhamhaeng compare with those of the Thai closed universities?

20. What do you find are your main problems in teaching at Ramkhamhaeng?

21. What do think in general are the main problems of the university?

22. What do you see as the function of Ramkhamhaeng in the Thai university system?

23. What do you understand by the term 'Open University?'

24. In what ways do you consider Ramkhamhaeng to be an open university and in what ways is it not one?

25. Given the opportunity, what would you do to change the system at Ramkhamhaeng?

26. What do you know about Sukhothai Thammathirat University? What are your opinions on STU?

27. Five years from now, what do you expect to be doing?

Appendix 4. Regulations and methods of consideration for appointment as Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor. (issued by the Office of University Affairs, 25/6/77), (in Thai).

A.1. Appointment as Assistant Professor. Anyone for consideration for appointment must possess qualifications and have completed academic work as follows:

1.1. Specific qualifications for appointment: those with a bachelor's degree or equivalent who have been teaching in university for not less than six years; those who have a master's degree or equivalent and have been teaching in university after receiving their master's degree or equivalent not less than three years; those with a Ph.D. or equivalent who have successfully passed a trial period of teaching in a university. In the case of someone who has improved his qualifications, his teaching before his study will be counted together with that after his study, for consideration as Assistant Professor, in proportion, following the limitations laid down in the first section.

(Example: Mr A with a bachelor's degree teaches for four years; he then leaves to study for a master's degree and returns afterwards to teach in the university for one more year. His teaching period will then be calculated proportionately, i.e. teaching with a bachelor's degree for four years, equal to 4/6 or 2/3, together with the teaching after his master's degree of one year, equal to 1/3. Taken together, this gives him the right to be considered for the position of Assistant Professor).

1.2. Academic work.

1.2.1. Be teaching one regular subject according to the university curriculum, have taught successfully and have pro-

duced at least one textbook related to his teaching for publication and

1.2.2. Have written, compiled, translated books or written academic articles of good quality which have been published or

1.2.3. Have done research work of good quality which has been published not including research work done towards a degree or

1.2.4. Other kinds of academic work equal in value to 1.2.2. or 1.2.3.

A.2. Appointment as Associate Professor. Anyone for consideration for appointment must possess the following qualifications and have completed academic work as follows:

2.1. Specific qualifications for appointment: Have been an Assistant Professor for not less than three years.

2.2. Academic work.

2.2.1. Be teaching one regular subject according to the university curriculum, have taught successfully and have produced at least one textbook for a course at the university of good quality not more than four years previous to consideration for appointment as Associate Professor and

2.2.2. Have written, compiled or translated textbooks for use in the university curriculum, of good quality and published not more than five years previous to consideration for appointment as Associate Professor or

2.2.3. Have done research work of good quality completed not more than five years previous to consideration for appointment as Associate Professor and which has been published, excluding work done towards a degree or

2.2.4. Other academic work of equal value to that in 2.2.2. or 2.2.3.

The academic work mentioned in 2.2.2., 2.2.3. and 2.2.4. must not be the same as that used when considered for appointment as Assistant Professor.

A.3. Appointment as Professor. Anyone for consideration for appointment must have qualifications and have done academic work as follows:

3.1 Specific qualifications for appointment: Have been an Associate Professor for not less than two years.

3.2 Academic work

3.2.1. Be teaching a regular subject according to the university curriculum, have taught successfully and have written or compiled at least one textbook for a course at the university, of very good quality, published not more than five years previous to consideration for appointment as Professor and

3.2.2. Have done research work of very good quality completed not more than five years previous to consideration for appointment as Professor and already published, excluding work done towards a degree or

3.2.3. Other academic work of equal value to 3.2.2.

The writing of books, research and other academic work must not be the same as that used when being considered for appointment as Assistant or Associate Professor.

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